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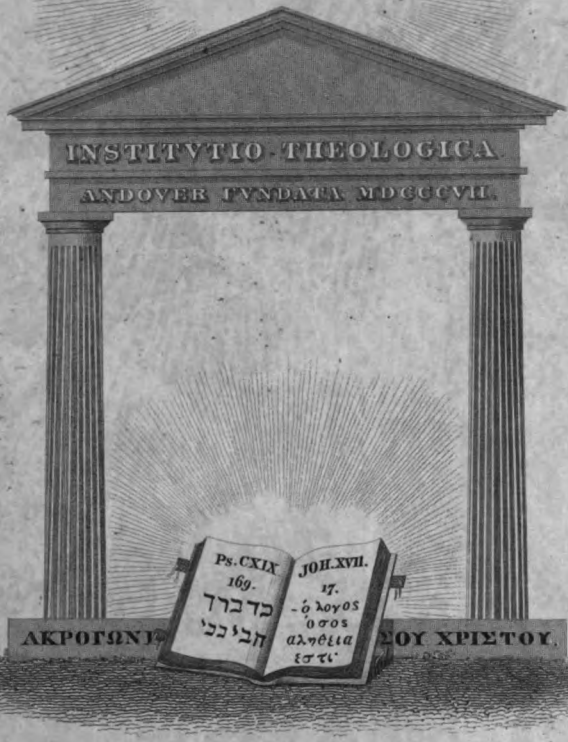

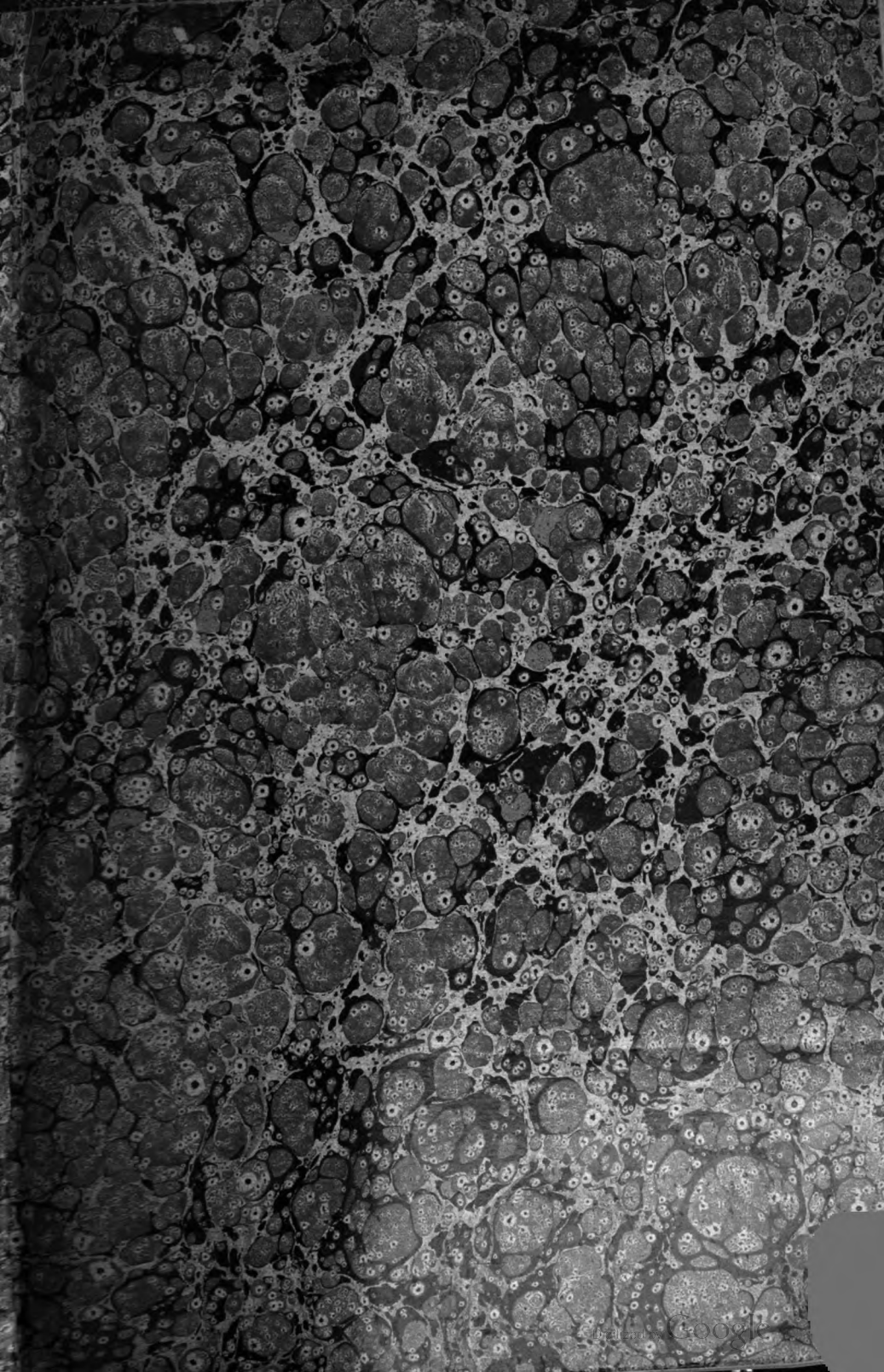

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THE

EXPOSITOR.

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FOURTH SERIES.

Volume IV.

London:
HODDER AND STOUGHTON,
27, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCXCI.

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The Selwood Printing Works,
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THE ADVANCE OF CHRIST IN ΣΟΦΙΑ.

Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτεν τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

"And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men."

Comp. 1 Sam. ii. 26:

Καὶ τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουὴλ ἐπορεύετο, καὶ ἐμεγαλύνετο, καὶ ἦν ἀγαθὸν μετὰ Κυρίου καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων.

"And the child Samuel grew on, and was in favour with the Lord, and also with men."

THOSE who propose to discuss the nature of the Redeemer need to tread warily and reverently, with full conviction at the outset that neither their individual ability and knowledge, nor the faculties which as men they possess, will be equal to the solution of the deep and mysterious questions which such a discussion of necessity will raise. This is therefore a matter in which dogmatism is singularly out of place, because certainty is so rarely attainable. Neither by the clear words of Scripture, nor by the unanimous decisions of His Church, has God revealed very much upon the subject; and it ill becomes us to assume that that other instrument which He has given us for arriving at truth, *viz.* our reason, will be sufficient for the discovery of things about which the other two great witnesses as to what we are to believe say little or nothing. Let us then above all things have *patience*; patience in investigation, and patience with the conclusions arrived at by others, however little we may like the substance of them. To condemn as "unsound" or "heretical" the opinions of other people respecting subjects in which certainty is per-

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haps unattainable is consistent neither with scientific principle nor with Christian humility and charity. Uncertainty about important truths is part of our probation in this life, and is an intellectual and moral discipline very much needed in an age of great intellectual activity, but also of great intellectual haste. As S. Augustine said long ago, it is those "who know not with what toil truth is discovered, and how difficult it is to avoid errors," that are eager to condemn heretics. And patience in dealing with convictions which seem to do violence to some of our most cherished beliefs can never do harm either to ourselves, or to the holders of such convictions, or to the cause of truth; whereas precipitancy in condemning what shocks us cannot but be harmful to all three. That some of the views which are at present being urged respecting both the incarnate and the written Word, and which have startled many earnest Christians, will either never be proved, or will be proved to be untrue, we may hopefully trust. But it is also possible that some things which many of us at present do not at all like will be shown to be highly probable, if not absolutely certain; and we ought to be on our guard against taking any part in committing Christendom to a position which may be found to be untenable. It was perhaps in order to teach His Church how to "advance in wisdom and stature" that Christ Himself condescended to do the same; and His apostle has told us under what conditions advance is possible: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good."

"Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man." In what precedes these words the growth of the Christ is very plainly marked stage by stage. First, "the babe," *τὸ βρέφος*: "They found . . . the babe lying in the manger" (ver. 16). Then "the child," *τὸ παιδίον*: "The child grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom"; where the present participle is very significant,

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πληρούμενον σοφίᾳ, "becoming full" or "being made full of wisdom" (ver. 40). Next, "the boy," ὁ παῖς: "The boy Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem" (ver. 43). And, lastly, in the verse before us, simply "Jesus," without any word to indicate age, because the passage covers a period of many years from the age of twelve onwards.

That ἡλικία here may mean "age" rather than "stature" must of course be admitted; but "stature" is more probable, for to say of a boy that he advanced in age is rather an empty truism. In Luke xix. 3 ἡλικία certainly means "stature," and it possibly does so in xii. 25, the only other place in which St. Luke uses the word. And it is perhaps not altogether fanciful to believe that growth in stature would be the point of interest to the beloved physician. Nevertheless, for the question before us, it is not of very much moment whether we adopt the rendering "stature" or "age." There is quite enough in the words and in the context to show that ἡλικία and σοφία together cover the whole of the physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual development which was taking place in Jesus during the years which followed the visit to the Temple at Jerusalem. The statement contains two pairs of words, and on the whole the two pairs balance one another. "Wisdom and stature" balance "God and men." And not only so, but the separate members of each pair to a considerable extent correspond. We are probably to understand that in the main it was the advance in σοφία which caused Him to advance in favour with God, and the advance in ἡλικία which caused Him to advance in favour with men.

It is difficult to believe that *intellectual* progress is not included in St. Luke's statement. Σοφία, it has been said, is not knowledge; which is true, for σοφία may include a great deal more than knowledge, *viz.* moral and spiritual insight. But it would not be true to say that σοφία excludes knowledge. One of the things which σοφία in this

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case included is told us in the preceding narrative. Those who heard the holy child asking and answering questions in the Temple were amazed at His *σύνεσις*, His "intelligence"; *i.e.* His power of putting things together and seeing their mutual relations. The *σοφία* with which from a still earlier stage in His childhood He was being filled day by day (ii. 40) here came to the front, and manifested itself in His conversation with His instructors. And it should not be overlooked that *σοφία* is the word which St. Luke uses to express "the wisdom of Solomon" (xi. 31; comp. Matt. xii. 42), which largely consisted of a knowledge of facts, and also "the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts vii. 22), which almost entirely consisted of such knowledge. We are expressly told that Moses was "instructed" in it—*ἐπαιδεύθη*.[1]

Another point which confirms us in the belief that intellectual progress is plainly intimated in the statement before us is the fact, that in the conversation with the doctors He not only answered, but *asked* questions. Why did He ask? If He was prompted by a holy thirst for knowledge, especially about sacred things,—the Temple and its services, the law and its application,—all is explained. He desired information from those who were most competent to give it. But if He already possessed this and all other knowledge, and could instantly have given infallible information upon any subject that might have been laid before Him, why did He go through the form of asking for information? Was it to convince these professional teachers of their own ignorance? or to draw them out? or to instruct them? None of these suggestions seems to be quite in harmony with the character of the ideal child, who is to be a pattern for childlike conduct throughout all time. These doctors were lawfully appointed teachers, commissioned by proper authority to give public instruction

[1] See Lightfoot on Col. i. 9, ii. 3.

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in religious matters to any who desired to receive it. Do we like to think of the holy child publicly correcting their teaching or showing them how to improve it? After He had Himself come forward as the Messiah, as the Divine Teacher of the nation and of mankind, it was right and necessary that He should correct and supplement the defective teaching of the rabbis; but there seems to be something worse than an anachronism in making the public ministry of Jesus begin when He was only twelve years old.

His attitude towards His parents on this occasion is another indication that He did not possess all knowledge, and that therefore intellectual progress was possible for Him. The whole narrative seems to imply that the child did not know that His parents were seeking for Him, and were in the deepest distress about His absence. The word which His mother uses is a very strong one,—*ὀδυνώμενοι*, "in anguish." S. Luke uses the same word of the Ephesians when they parted from S. Paul with the conviction that they were to see his face no more (Acts xx. 38), and also twice of the agony of Dives in Hades (Luke xvi. 24, 25). Did the child know of this agony of anxiety, and yet continue to cause it? Does not His question show that He was ignorant of it, that He was not even aware that they were looking for Him? He is amazed that they did not know at once where to find Him. If He was not with them, there was only one place in which He could be. "How is it that ye sought Me? Wist ye not that I must be in My Father's house?"

In biblical criticism there are few things more instructive than to compare the apocryphal gospels with the four which have come down to us stamped with the authority of Christendom. In the apocryphal gospels we see the very best that primitive Christians could do when they tried to invent incidents in the life of Christ, and to imagine things which He might have said or done. We see how

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immeasurably these attempts fall short of the canonical gospels, although those who made them had the canonical gospels to draw from and to copy. What sort of gospels should we have if *all* of them had been inventions of the first three centuries? The additions made in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* to S. Luke's account of the visit to Jerusalem are of great interest in this respect. The writer tells us that to the doctors and elders the child Jesus "explained the books, and the law, and the precepts, and the statutes, and the mysteries which are contained in the books of the prophets—things which the understanding of no creature attains to. . . . And a philosopher who was there present, a skilful astronomer, asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied astronomy. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and explained the number of the spheres, and of the heavenly bodies, their natures and operations; their aspect, triangular, square, and sextile; their course, direct and retrograde; the twenty-fourths, and sixtieths of twenty-fourths, and other things beyond the reach of reason. There was also among those philosophers one very skilled in treating of natural science, and he asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied medicine. And He in reply explained to him physics and metaphysics. hyperphysics and hypophysics, the powers likewise and humours of the body, and the effects of the same, . . , and other things beyond the reach of any created intellect" (chaps. l.–lii.).

This imaginary conversation seems to us almost irreverent, not to say grotesque; but it is evidently meant to be far otherwise. It is an attempt to express in a graphic manner the conviction that from His earliest years Jesus was in possession of the whole range of knowledge in philosophy, science, and art; in short, that in omniscience He was equal to His heavenly Father. Many people have that conviction still, and it is useful to realize what it involves.

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Let us with all reverence ask a single question respecting the boyhood of Jesus. In His early manhood we know that He was a carpenter, and that He was able to read the Scriptures. Did he *learn* carpentry in the ordinary way from Joseph? Did he *learn* to read in the ordinary way in the synagogue school? If not,—if He knew all this and much more without the process of learning,—then what becomes of the explicit statement in the Epistle to the Hebrews that "it behoved Him *in all things* to be made like unto His brethren": *ὤφειλεν κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι* (ii. 17)? He took upon Himself the whole burden of humanity, sin only excepted. He took on Him our capacity for bodily and mental suffering, and even our capacity for being tempted. He "hath been in all points tempted like as we are": *πεπειρασμένος κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα* (iv. 15). But is not a great deal of human suffering, especially in childhood and youth, connected with the acquisition of knowledge? Do not many of our temptations throughout life spring from the same process? It is not easy to believe that Jesus fenced Himself off from all suffering and temptation of this kind, so as to leave us no example as to how to bear it. And those who do believe this have to show how their belief can be reconciled with the double *κατὰ πάντα* in Hebrews. They have to show how a humanity which knew nothing of the mingled trouble and delight and danger which attend the acquisition of knowledge was real.

In the first and second centuries there was a form of Gnosticism which endeavoured to circumvent the difficulty of believing that the Divine Logos became united with a human body, by supposing that the body was a mere phantom. To the Gnostic everything material was impure, and therefore it was incredible that Divine purity should contaminate itself by union with human flesh. The human frame must have been only apparent. It seemed to possess

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all the qualities of a human body, but it was not material; it was not real. More than one plain statement in the New Testament seems to be aimed at this form of error, which amounts to nothing less than a denial of the Incarnation. *We* have to be on our guard against explaining away the reality of our Lord's human *intelligence*, just as the Docetic Gnostics explained away the reality of our Lord's human *frame*.

But let us leave for a moment the question of our Lord's intellectual advance as He grew in years, and look at another aspect of the statement before us. "Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men." He advanced in favour with *God*. Is not that a far more startling declaration than anything which has been urged respecting the possibility of His advancing in knowledge? It seems to imply *moral* and *spiritual* progress; in other words, advance in *holiness*. How could the perfect and sinless child advance in holiness? And if He was capable of *no* advance in this respect, how was it possible for Him to grow in favour with His heavenly Father? It is possible to explain προέκοπτεν τῇ σοφίᾳ in such a way as to exclude the acquisition of knowledge, but it is scarcely possible to explain προέκοπτεν χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ in such a way as to exclude moral and spiritual progress. How are we to understand such progress in the case of One who from His conception to His return to glory was absolutely free from all stain of sin?

I suppose we should all of us admit that the holiness of a man is a different thing from the innocence of a child. It is a nobler and a higher thing. The one is largely the result of the absence of temptations; the other is mainly the result of habitual victory over them. The one has the beauty of an unassailed and therefore unstained nature; the other has the beauty of a well formed and firmly established character. The one, with all its loveliness, lacks

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strength and fulness; the other is firm and full grown. Even as regards beauty of person, the ideal type of manly figure and proportion would rank higher than the ideal type of childhood. The latter is the beauty of promise; the other is the beauty of fulfilment. Still more is this superiority manifest when we compare excellence of character in the saint of full years with excellence of character in a saintly child; and it is reasonable to believe that the more fully developed holiness is more pleasing to God than the less mature form.

Let us reverently apply this thought to the case of our blessed Lord. Scripture and reason warrant us in believing that at each stage in His life on earth Christ's moral and spiritual condition was *perfect*; perfect, that is to say, *for that stage*. In childhood He manifested to the world a child's character that was absolutely flawless; and in manhood He manifested a man's character that was equally flawless. As a child, as a youth, as a man, He could not possibly have been better than He was. No other being at that age could possibly have exhibited a character that was morally higher, stronger, or more beautiful. But the perfection of His character as a man was a more excellent thing than the perfection of His character as a child, and therefore more pleasing, not only to men, but to God. His character, we may without irreverence believe, developed in accordance with the laws which govern our own. Every virtuous thought and word and deed established still more firmly habits of virtue; and *all* His thoughts, words, and deeds were absolutely virtuous. Every temptation overcome strengthened the power of resisting temptation; and He *never failed* to overcome temptation. Increase in moral strength was therefore possible even for Him: because the moral strength of a human being who has withstood every assault of sin, and practised all possible virtue, during thirty years would seem of necessity to be greater

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than that of one who has had only a few years of opportunity for the one or the other. Moreover, we know that He prayed, not only for others, but for Himself; and does not that imply that advance of some kind was possible for Him? Otherwise prayer for Himself would be almost meaningless. His prayer in the garden of Gethsemane was answered by an angel being sent to strengthen Him, and we can hardly limit the strengthening to physical support. But if this thought be considered too daring, we can at least see that the perfection of human character is to be found in the perfect man rather than in the perfect child; and that in this way advance in favour with God was possible for One who at no stage of His life on earth ever fell short of perfection.

If we are able to accept this view of a moral and spiritual progress, we shall probably find the thought of intellectual progress and of growth in knowledge less difficult, and shall be ready to meet with serenity, if not altogether without perplexity, the idea of a limitation in Christ's knowledge even after He became a full grown man. There are those who admit the growth in knowledge during childhood, who yet deny as intolerable the hypothesis of a limitation in His knowledge during His ministry; and it is not easy to reconcile the denial with the admission, or with the plain words of Scripture. Jesus Himself has told us of one limitation in His knowledge: He was ignorant of the time of the day of judgment (Mark xiii. 32). Therefore ignorance for Him was a possibility; and the question is not, Could He be ignorant of anything? but, To what things did His ignorance extend? That is a question to be handled very cautiously; but Scripture by no means leaves us without help. Knowledge of what was passing in men's minds was possible for Him; but we do not know that He always used it, any more than He made use of the legions of angels that He could have had to save Him from arrest. Knowledge

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of what took place at a distance was possible for Him; but it would seem as if the use of it was exceptional. He asks, "How many loaves have ye?" "Have ye any meat?" And when He approaches the home of the dead Lazarus He asks, "Where have ye laid him?" It was not until He had tasted the wine mingled with myrrh that He refused to drink it, as if He had previously been ignorant of what it was that was offered Him. We are told that "He marvelled"; and surprise is inconceivable in the case of omniscience. All these things seem to show that He sometimes, and perhaps generally, condescended to obtain knowledge as we do; *viz.* by asking for information and by general experience. S. Luke places no limit to the statement that He increased in wisdom; and it seems therefore to be allowable to believe that it continued until the great "It is finished" on the cross.

Lastly, there is the fact that Jesus Christ nowhere exhibits and nowhere claims omniscience. That miracles of knowledge were possible for Him, just as miracles of healing were possible, is shown plainly enough; but that is a very different thing from affirming that at all times from His cradle upwards, or at any rate from His baptism, He possessed (with the one exception which He Himself makes) a knowledge of *everything*, past, present, and future. It is not easy to see how such knowledge would have aided His work, unless He communicated some of it; and even then it would be possible to believe that more hindrance than help would come of it. But here we are raising questions which we are scarcely competent even to discuss. Let us abide by the fact that there is a remarkable silence in Scripture respecting the all but limitless knowledge which reverent minds often think it necessary to attribute to Jesus Christ. It would be rash to assert that He did not possess it; still more rash to assert that He *could* not have possessed it. But such evidence as has been granted to us

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seems to point to a limitation in His knowledge very much more considerable than many people are willing to admit.

It sounds like a paradox, but there is such a thing as presumptuous reverence. There is a presumptuous temper in sacred matters, which is born, not of profanity, but of misdirected devotion. There is a reverence for holy things, which, in its eagerness to honour them according to its own liking, hastily settles both the precise terms of the holiness and the precise terms of the honour, and will not tolerate any modification or restatement with regard to either. It is scarcely too much to say that misconceived reverence has been one of the chief impediments in the way of true ideas respecting both Scripture and the Christ, and therefore respecting the God whom both of them reveal. For centuries we have settled in our own minds, and (one might almost say) have dictated to the Almighty, what kind of a Bible He *must* have given us, what kind of a Christ He *must* have sent us, instead of carefully and patiently investigating the actual characteristics of the inspired writings which have come down to us, and of the incarnate Son whom they make known to us. We are wandering into a region in which human logic is no safe guide, when we say that the Bible is the word of God, and therefore *cannot* have this or that mark of imperfection. And still less can we trust to our reasoning powers when we affirm that Christ was God as well as man, and therefore *cannot* have been subject to this or that limitation. Our own nature is still a riddle to us, full of mysteries that are not likely to be solved by any of us on this side of the grave. And if we are thus ignorant of ourselves, how much more ignorant are we of the nature of the Deity! Is it not strange that those who cannot deny their inability to comprehend either their own being or the being of God should be so ready to make positive assertions as to what *must* be the result when humanity is united with Divinity, should be so ready

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to brand with epithets of severe condemnation those who adopt solutions of the difficulties different from their own? Let us at least free ourselves from this uncharitable inconsistency. And if we think it more reverent to stand aside and decline to discuss questions which perhaps can never receive a final answer, let us not blame those who think that it is on subjects such as these that the faculties which God has given them can be used with most honour to Him. And perhaps it will be wise not to attempt to use the authority of Christ in deciding questions which, if they can be solved at all, are questions for historic investigation and criticism. It was when He was asked to settle a controversy which admitted of being decided by ordinary human processes, that He uttered the rebuke, "Man, who made Me a judge and a divider over you?" And it may be doubted whether we have the right to take His words and put them to uses for which they may never have been intended; *viz.* to save us the trouble of critically investigating the date and authorship of writings to which He has added His authority. Of one thing we may be sure: that if we consider such investigations closed for ourselves, we have neither the right nor the power to close them for others. In the whole history of human thought, it never has happened, and it never will happen, that a question once raised has been settled or silenced *by authority*. The only way in which questions can be set at rest, and discussion of them made to cease, is by finding the right answer and *proving* that it *is* right. It is at least *conceivable* that Jesus so emptied Himself of the attributes of His Divinity, as to be dependent for knowledge upon His earthly experience and the information which He obtained from others. In that case He would know no more about the authorship of the sacred writings than His Jewish instructors could tell Him, and He would share their ignorance as He shared their customs and climate. Let us reverently give this

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supposition patient consideration, and not be in a hurry to decide that it is incredible that the Divine Word can have become flesh under such conditions. That decision may really mean this: that it does not please *us* that the Incarnation should have taken place in such a way; and what has our pleasure to do with the matter? If it be a fact that He came among us limited in knowledge and advancing in knowledge, and that He continued thus all His days upon the earth, are we going to find Him less adorable because of this humiliation? Shall we join with Peter in rebuking Him and say, "Be it far from Thee, Lord; this shall *never* be unto Thee"? It will be a strange result of a most gracious revelation, if the fact, which S. Luke has preserved for us, that during His life on earth Jesus advanced in wisdom, should have caused Him then to advance in favour with God, and yet cause Him now to lose favour with men.[1]

ALFRED PLUMMER.

[1] The following may be recommended to those who desire to study the subject: Sanday, *Oracles of God* (Longmans, 1890), already in a second edition; an article by Canon Travers Smith in THE EXPOSITOR for August, 1890; and a sermon by the Bishop of Manchester in the *Church of England Pulpit*, March 21st, 1891.

Since this was put in type I have seen *Our Lord's Knowledge as Man*, by W. S. Swayne (Longmans, 1891), which the Bishop of Salisbury, in the preface which he has written to it, rightly styles "a brave and modest attempt to illustrate the question."

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THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

V.

(1 Cor. xv. 50–52.)

At the moment when the Apostle reaches the point before us, "the image of the heavenly," spoken of at the close of ver. 49, fills his mind and transports him with joy and triumph. "As we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly," had been his cry. Let us see that we be found among the number of those who belong to the line of spiritual descendants of which the second Adam is the Head, so that we may experience a resurrection from the dead similar to His, and may receive the body of "incorruption," of "glory," and of "power," the "spiritual" and "heavenly" body. Suddenly he seems now to turn to the thought that the obtaining of this body had, throughout all his previous argument, been associated with, or even conditioned by, the preliminary experience of death. But all Christians were not destined to die. In the great day of the Lord's second coming there would be those living upon the earth whom he elsewhere describes as the "we that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord" (1 Thess. iv. 15). They would be living in their ordinary bodies, in their bodies of "corruption," of "dishonour," and of "weakness," in their "sensuous" and "earthy" bodies, in bodies adapted to this material and fleeting world, and unfitted for that glorious kingdom of God which would then be manifested. What therefore was to become of them? Were they not to share in the blessedness of those who, being one with Christ, were "children of God; and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that they suffer with Him, that they may be also glorified with Him" (Rom. viii. 16, 17)? Curiously

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enough, the misapprehension is exactly the converse of that with which the Apostle had to deal in writing to the disciples at Thessalonica. There the fear was that they who had died before the second coming of the Lord would not partake of the blessedness prepared for such as would be alive when the Lord descends "with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God"; and assurance had to be given that the dead in Christ shall "rise first." Here the difficulty sprang up in connexion with those who would be alive when Jesus came. The bright prospects hitherto spoken of in this chapter had been connected with a passage through the grave. What shall be the fate of those for whom the providence of God prepares no such passage?

Such seem to be the thoughts occupying the mind of St. Paul when he comes to the fiftieth verse of this chapter; and, if it be so, not only the general strain of the following verses is at once explained, but light is thrown upon individual expressions, the full meaning of which we might not otherwise perceive.

"But this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God: neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." *Τοῦτο δέ φημι*, "But this I say," introducing an emphatic and positive assertion, not intended to explain more fully what has been said already, but to lead the way to a new consideration connected with it (comp. chap. vii. 29). That "flesh and blood" are here used to denote only the physical nature of man, without taking into account, under the word "flesh," the lusts and passions of our lower nature,[1] there can be no doubt; but it is of more consequence to observe that, if the view of the connexion above spoken of be correct, it is concrete men, men then alive, rather than the materials of which their bodies are composed, that the Apostle has in his eye.

[1] As Cox, p. 227.

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In that condition in which he is now dealing with them, they are "flesh and blood"; and, as such, they are also "corruption." The two expressions refer to the same thing, and there is no ground whatever for the supposition—a supposition rather breaking the continuity of the Apostle's statement—that "flesh and blood" denote those who shall be alive at the *parousia*, and that "corruption" denotes those who shall have died before it.[1] The word "corruption" applies to the body, not only when in the grave, but in its present state of existence upon earth (comp. ver. 42); and both clauses refer to living men, although, according to the common method of Scripture, the second is climactic to the first. The word "inherit" is here interesting, and has light shed on it when we fix our thoughts on the general purport of the verse. The covenant with Abraham hardly seems to be alluded to;[2] it is of the heirship of Romans viii. 16 that St. Paul is thinking, that heirship which is given us with Christ Himself, "the Heir" (comp. Matt. xxi. 38, Heb. i. 2), when we trace our spiritual descent from Him, when we are in Him, and are one with Him. The law, then, thus laid down by St. Paul is not only general and absolute, but founded in the very nature of things. In the same way as our Lord had said, "Except a man be born again, he *cannot* see the kingdom of God" (John iii. 3), so the Apostle says, "Flesh and blood" *cannot* inherit that kingdom when it is revealed in glory. In the second clause, in which the word "cannot" is not employed, there is probably no less of a climax to the first clause than there was when the mention of "corruption" followed the mention of "flesh and blood." The present tense, "doth inherit," seems to do more than negative the thought of what might otherwise happen at any particular instant. It gives expression to the Divine, everlasting, and unchanging plan, and in this

[1] As Godet *in loc.*

[2] As Edwards.

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respect it may be said to be of even greater force than the "cannot" of the preceding clause.

"Flesh and blood" then, or "corruption," that is, the men and women who would be alive upon the earth when Christ was manifested, could not enter as they were into the kingdom. What was to be their fate? They would not be in the position of those who had passed through the seed-bed of the grave. Dead believers would be raised, ready for the kingdom. But these had not died. They were, by the supposition, in their earthly bodies; and earthly bodies are, alike by the nature of the case and the Divine plan, unfit for the kingdom. What then was to happen to them? Everything makes it plain, and the point ought to be fixed with the greatest possible distinctness in our minds, that St. Paul is thinking only of those who shall be alive at the *parousia*, and that the mystery of which he is about to tell us has reference to them alone.

This mystery is now stated, vers. 51, 52, in the following words, taken from the Revised Version, which is here in the closest correspondence with the Authorized: "Behold, I tell you a mystery: We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed."

Before endeavouring to ascertain the meaning of these words, it is necessary to determine the best attested reading of the Greek; and this the more, that the various readings of ver. 51 open up principles of textual criticism as interesting and important as those of any single text in the New Testament. There are three such readings; but one of them (that which gives us *ἀναστησόμεθα* instead of *κοιμηθησόμεθα* is of little consequence, and we may confine ourselves to the two that remain.

The first (A) is substantially that of the Textus Re-

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ceptus, *πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα*; the second (B) assigns a different position to the negative particle, placing it, not before, but after *κοιμηθησόμεθα*, and before the second *πάντες*: *πάντες κοιμηθησόμεθα οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα*. The most remarkable circumstance connected with these two readings is, that while all the most valuable diplomatic evidence, with the exception of the *Codex Vaticanus*, is in favour of the second (B), critics generally, including even Westcott and Hort, whose adherence to this department of evidence is so steadfast, and has been attended with such momentous consequences to the New Testament text, have been constrained to decide, upon internal grounds, in favour of the first (A).[1] In short, we have here a case, one of very few of the kind, in which the ablest inquirers have felt themselves compelled to allow that external evidence must yield to internal. And why? Because, supposing (A) to be the correct reading, the genesis of (B) can be at once explained; because, supposing (B) to be correct, the genesis of (A) would be inexplicable. What we shall immediately see to be the true meaning of (A) must have appeared either so unintelligible or so startling to the Church, that she must have considered it out of the question to acquiesce in it. The reading, she would reason, must be false; and the second reading (B) would suggest itself as a simple method of meeting the difficulty, and of making the words of the Apostle worthy, as they must have been, of his Divine commission. The meaning of the first reading, the only meaning of which it is naturally susceptible, is, "All of us shall not-fall-asleep," or, in other words, "None of us shall fall-asleep." In the course of a few years therefore, to say nothing of generations, it could not but be seen that that statement was disproved by fact. The meaning of the second reading is, "All of us shall fall

[1] Comp. also Tregelles, Tischendorf, etc.

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asleep, but not all of us (*i.e.* some of us) shall be changed"; or, to put it in another way, St. Paul says first, "All of us shall fall asleep," and then suddenly correcting himself, he adds, "Yet not all of us: some of us shall be changed." A satisfactory sense, or at least, a sense in conformity with fact, appeared thus to be gained. The future would be as the past until the end of the present dispensation. Falling asleep would continue as before; but the great day would come, and then some of those living at the time would be changed. These considerations suggest the probable history of the manner in which the second reading (B) found its way into so wide a circle of authorities. But the greater the degree of probability with which we can account, on subjective grounds, for the introduction of a contested reading into the text, the less is that reading entitled to claim its place as the original utterance of the writer. The weight of external evidence on behalf of (B) is thus considerably diminished.

Nor is even the sense afforded by it so good as to weigh much in its favour. If it relieves us from the peculiar difficulty attaching to (A), it has difficulties of its own to contend with not less serious. One of two meanings must be attached to it. (1) The "all" in the two clauses may be understood, in its widest sense, as applicable to men without exception; in which case the meaning is, All shall die, but only believers shall be changed. Thus introducing a reference to non-believers, this meaning may be set aside without any argument against it upon other grounds. There is no more striking characteristic of the whole chapter than the degree to which it ignores the existence of unbelievers. (2) The "all" may be understood in a more limited sense as applying only to believers; and, as already indicated, the Apostle may be understood to say, "All of us shall die; yet not all of us: some of us shall be changed." But, apart from the awkwardness of the limitation "all, yet not all,"

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what could lead the Apostle to give prominence to the fact that those of whom he is thinking shall fall asleep or die? He has passed away from that state of things. He has nothing to do now with either death or resurrection from the grave. He has turned to a different class of persons, in whose case there was neither death nor resurrection. He could hardly therefore have spoken in the manner supposed. On every ground the second reading must be rejected, and the first reading, that of the Textus Receptus, must stand. The Apostle says, *πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα*. What is his meaning? And, if his meaning be that naturally suggested by the words, is there any legitimate method of escape from the charge that it has been disproved by fact?

It would be vain to attempt to enter into all the speculations of grammarians and commentators as to the correct mode of rendering negative sentences cast in the mould of that before us, or to discuss at length the different interpretations which have been given to the Apostle's words: "All of us shall not sleep," *i.e.* none of us shall sleep; "All of us shall not sleep," *i.e.* some of us shall sleep; "All of us shall not sleep," *i e.* some of us shall be awake or alive. It is enough to say that the general contention is, that in biblical Greek the position of the negatives is not so rigorously observed as in the classic style; and that, although therefore the *οὐ* is, strictly speaking, to be connected with the verb, its sense may be trajected to the subject "all." We thus obtain the meaning which may be given in the words of Godet (*in loc.*): "We shall not all die—there will be living Christians when the Lord comes again; but we shall all require to be changed—living believers by transformation, the dead by resurrection." This view cannot be accepted. It is no doubt urged that we may overcome the grammatical difficulty of trajecting the *οὐ* from the verb to its subject *πάντες* by a comparison

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of such a passage as that always quoted in defence of this procedure, Numbers xxiii. 13, in which Balak says to Balaam μέρος τι ὄψει, πάντας δὲ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃς, and where, to keep the negative in close connexion with the verb, would make Balak contradict himself: "a part shalt thou see, but all shalt thou not-see," *i.e.* "none shalt thou see." Or we are referred to such words as those of Romans iii. 20, οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ, where the tendency of the Hebrew mind to connect with the verb the negative belonging to the subject is thought to be illustrated. This solution of the difficulty however is extremely doubtful. Its possibility is indeed denied in the strongest terms by, amongst others, Winer and Meyer.[1] But even though it were grammatically possible, it is rendered wholly inadmissible on account of the double meaning which it puts into ἀλλαγησόμεθα—that of a change in some by transformation, in others by resurrection. Nothing can well be more certain than that, throughout the passage (comp. especially ver. 53, where the two acts are clearly distinguished), that verb is used in one sense alone, the sense of change by *transformation*. In these circumstances there seems to be no alternative but to abide by the simple and natural meaning of the words, and to understand the Apostle as saying, "We all (*i.e.* all included in the πάντες) shall not

[1] A moment's consideration indeed may show us that Num. xxiii. 13 is no proper parallel to the present passage. There can be there no mistake as to the meaning, the first part of the sentence stating distinctly that Balaam shall see only a part of the host. With this the second part of the sentence must agree. Nor does it make any difference in the thought of that second part whether we connect the negative with the πάντας or the ἴδῃς: "not all shalt thou see," or "all (the emphasis lying on this word) shalt thou not see." That the second passage, Rom. iii. 20, is equally useless for the purpose for which it is referred to appears from this, that if we traject the negative, connecting it with the subject of the verb, instead of the verb itself, we obtain a sense utterly at variance with the statement which the Apostle is concerned to prove: "Wherefore by the works of the law shall be justified not all flesh," or "not all flesh shall be justified," *i.e.* "some flesh shall be justified." It would seem, therefore, as if both these passages were improperly appealed to for the object they are supposed to serve.

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fall asleep, but we all (*i.e.* all again included in the πάντες) shall be changed."

The propriety of so rendering is confirmed by one or two different considerations that may be noticed before speaking of the difficulty to which the rendering gives rise. (*a*) It preserves the connexion between the negative and the verb, as in 1 John ii. 19, "They went out, that they might be made manifest how that they all are not of us," where it is not so much the object of the Apostle to say that there are false members of the Christian community, as to say that none of those who, by going out, prove themselves to be so, ever really belonged to it. Although the order of the words in St. John is slightly different (yet only as regards emphasis) from that of the words before us, the negative is thus to be closely connected with its verb. So also 1 John ii. 21, "Every lie is-not (οὐκ ἔστι) of the truth"; *i.e.* it is the essence of every lie that it does not spring from the truth. (*b*) The rendering now defended strictly preserves the same meaning for πάντες in both clauses. The persons of whom it is asserted that they shall not die are the very same persons of whom it is said that they shall be changed. We all, whoever we are, shall not die, but we shall all be changed. (*c*) It preserves what would appear to be almost the technical meaning of ἀλλαγησόμεθα in vers. 51 and 52; for, as has been already stated, that word is so used as to make it impossible to include under it the "change" which is to take effect upon those who have been asleep or dead. Besides which, the idea of "change" will not suit the condition of the dead. Change supposes something to be changed, a person on whom the change is to operate. But the dead are buried out of sight. They have returned to corruption. They are not there to be changed. What they need is to be raised up in another form; and that resurrection they shall experience. This "change," whatever may be said to the contrary, cannot include resurrection.

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It refers only to transmutation. (*d*) Thus preserving the special meaning of the word "changed," we preserve also the distinction clearly drawn in ver. 52 between the νεκροί and the ἡμεῖς. (*e*) We have a meaning of precisely that kind which would be likely to startle the Church, and to lead it insensibly to modify the Greek. (*f*) On the other supposition the whole difficulty, to be immediately referred to, is not removed. From the ἡμεῖς of ver. 52 St. Paul cannot exclude himself. The meaning of the words can hardly be any other than this, that none of the "we all" shall die, that all of the "we all" shall be changed.

It is not to be denied that we are thus face to face with a very serious difficulty. We seem to be forced by the principles of fair exegesis to make St. Paul say in a distinct and positive manner what has been contradicted by fact; and we make him say this too at a time when to any observer his statement must have appeared to be at variance with what was actually passing around him. Can the Apostle really intend to convey to us the assurance that the last Christian of that generation who was to pass through the gate of the grave had already died? Was no other to follow into the valley of the shadow of death? And can he say this at a moment when, in all probability, many Christians at Corinth were "weak and sickly, and not a few were falling asleep" (κοιμῶνται, 1 Cor. xi. 30)? Is it so that, according to the statement of the Apostle, there was to be no more death, and that all believers had only to wait for a more or less immediate "change"? To say the least of it, this is exceedingly unlike St. Paul; and not only so, it is out of keeping with that mind of Christ which we know to have been his authority, and which he so often shows us he had made his own. Let the following observations be considered:

1. It does not seem difficult to account for the peculiar form of the expression, for the negative instead of the posi-

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tive form, "we shall not-sleep." Throughout his whole previous argument the Apostle had dealt with *sleeping* or dying as the main point of the great transition he had in view. The perplexity in the minds of his readers did not present itself in the form, "What if we shall not be alive?" so much as in the form, "What if we shall not have died?" Hence he is led to designate those of whom he is thinking, not as persons who shall be alive, but as persons who shall not-have-died.

2. But what of the πάντες? What of a statement so universal, and apparently applied without any limitation to himself and the men around him? The explanation is to be found in St. Paul's habit of thought and in the mode in which, under the influence of that habit, he is led to express himself. When a thought takes possession of his mind, it wholly fills it. He can look at it only in one light, and apart from the qualifications and limitations with which, in cooler and less eager minds, it would naturally be associated. What he dwells upon starts up before him like a picture, the canvas of which is entirely occupied with one conception. The picture is his own. He is in the midst of it. He is one with the figures filling it. For the time he is incapable of admitting any thought by which the leading idea of the picture would require to be balanced, if we are to have all the truth. Illustrations of this habit in its more general form are so numerous and so commonly admitted, that it is unnecessary to speak of them. It is more to our present purpose to refer to one in this very chapter, in which the same word πάντες is treated exactly as it is here. At ver. 22 we read, "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive." No statement could be more general, and both the use made of it and the conclusions deduced from it in that form are well known. Yet nothing can be more certain than that "all" here is not "all" in its universal aspect. Those intended are only

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"all" to the Apostle. Whence comes this? His mind was filled in the verses coming immediately before with the thought of those who wake from their sleep to be presented along with Christ, the firstfruits, to the Father, with the thought of those who share with the risen Saviour the resurrection of the dead. He had been gazing on them as they passed before him, a glorious army, clothed in all the splendour which he afterwards endeavours to describe by speaking of "this corruptible putting on incorruption, and this mortal putting on immortality" (ver. 53). The canvas is full; not another figure can find a place in it; these sons of the resurrection morning are all upon whom he can fix his thoughts, and he cries out, though having reference to them alone, "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive."

It is precisely the same thing here. At ver. 50, as we have already seen, St. Paul had been speaking of concrete living Christians as contrasted with Christians who had died. The latter were a complete class; so then also are the former. They come before the Apostle in all their perplexity, as for the moment they think, not only that they may not, but that they will not die. Is there no hope for them? St. Paul identifies himself with them. He is in the midst of a new company, and the company of such as had died is forgotten. He is one with the new company, and he makes the new company one with him. We are to live, he exclaims; by the supposition we are not to die. "We all" belong to those who are not to fall asleep. What then? We belong to those who in that case will be changed; and our hope is as sure and precious as that of others. This power of identifying himself with others is a true trait of the great Apostle. "Who," he exclaims, writing on one occasion to the Corinthian Church, "is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I burn not?" (2 Cor. xi. 29;) and in this very epistle, "To the

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Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law, that I might gain them that are without law; to the weak I became weak, that I might gain the weak: I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some" (1 Cor. ix. 20–22). It is by no means necessary, therefore, to think that the Apostle lays it down as a fact, that none of the men of that generation would die. It might have been so. It might be so with the men of this generation. None of us knows the hour when the Lord cometh, and no one knows that better of his own day than St. Paul knew it of his day. Enough that he is dealing with one half only of a great truth. The first half had been disposed of. Christians who die shall rise to a more glorious life. The second half comes next. Christians who do not die shall be fitted for the Divine glory by being changed.

Let us paraphrase the Apostle's words: "I have been dealing with the thought of death as of that crisis in the believer's history through which he passes from the corruption, the dishonour, and the weakness of earth to the incorruption, the glory, and the power of the future and heavenly life; and I have spoken as I have done because the difficulties proposed to me had reference to the condition of the departed. 'How are the dead raised up? and with what manner of body do they come?' Do not imagine, however, that I am insensible to the fact that the second coming of the Lord of which I have so often spoken in my teaching will find many of His people alive upon the earth. They, it is true, shall not die. They shall not pass through that grave which is the ultimate form of the seed-bed out of which, like grains of wheat springing up into the plant, Christians who have died shall spring up into their future glorious estate. Those who

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have died shall not on that account anticipate them. They shall be changed." And then he passes on, with a full mind unburdening itself, to some of the particulars of the change.

It will take place "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." There is no need to dwell upon the figure employed in the second of these clauses, which is obviously intended to bring out, like the "moment" spoken of, the suddenness of the change. There is no gradual development, no process of refining or spiritualizing of the body that may have been going on for years or centuries. Whatever may have happened in that way in no degree interferes with the instantaneousness of the final issue. This instantaneousness may indeed startle us, but there is also much that may help us to appreciate, if not fully to comprehend it. The first step taken in any new and great series of events must be always sudden. It may have been long prepared for, as the gathering forces of electricity in the atmosphere prepare for the moment when the equilibrium shall be restored; but, when that is restored, it is with the suddenness of the lightning's flash. Creation, in whatever form we think of it, whether as innumerable atoms in ill-assorted whirl, or as a well-ordered and harmonious system, must have been sudden. The transition from not-being to being could be nothing else. Astronomers too are familiar with great cataclysms in the history of the universe around them. They behold stars suddenly broken up, lights with which they have been long familiar disappear, and new lights come into existence. With what tremendous changes all this must have been accompanied they cannot tell; but this they know that, whatever their extent, they must have been sudden. So also now. It may help us the better to comprehend the teaching of this passage if we bear in mind that the change referred to does not take place while the ordinary processes of nature are going on with their

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usual regularity and calmness. Nature prepares us for convulsions. Scripture tells us that it is in the midst of one of these that what is here spoken of will take place. It is the day of the Lord, and "the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up" (2 Pet iii. 10). Who shall estimate aright the changes on every side, and on every object with which earth is filled, that may and must accompany this great change? To imagine man passing through it unchanged would be the difficulty, and whatever change takes place will certainly be "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye."

Another mark of the great era in human history spoken of is added by the Apostle—"at the last trump." The trumpet is the same as that of which we read in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, when it is there said that "the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God" (chap. iv. 16). Still more particularly, it is that of which our Lord Himself spoke to His disciples in His discourse upon the last things: "And He shall send forth His angels with the great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other" (Matt. xxiv. 31). This gathering together of Christ's elect is now before the Apostle's eye; and the sounding of the trumpet long and loud,—so long that the sound travels to every region of the earth, so loud that it penetrates the deepest chambers of the tomb—is to him the symbol of the gathering.

The greatness of the occasion, too, is increased by the circumstance that this trumpet shall then sound for the "last" time. It had sounded at the giving of the law, so that, even amidst the thunders that re-echoed amongst

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the mountains of Horeb, it was heard "exceeding loud" (Exod. xix. 17). From the thought of it, as the suitable accompaniment of all great occasions when the Almighty manifested Himself to Israel, came no doubt its employment in connexion with the fall of Jericho, with the peculiar solemnities of the seventh month, the greatest month in Israel's sacred year, and with those solemn assemblies of the people of which it was said, "Blow the trumpet in Zion, call a solemn assembly" (Joel ii. 15). All along the history of Israel it had been associated with the most momentous events which befell that people. But this sounding shall be the "last." The trumpet will be no more needed to accompany the giving of a law, for the law has been written upon the Christian heart; no more needed to summon the Israel of God to the overthrow of hostile powers, for all Israel's enemies have been overcome; no more needed to introduce great festivals which are to last for a few days, for the Feast of Tabernacles has begun which is to endure for ever; and no more needed to call solemn assemblies soon to be broken up, for the solemn assembly now convened is never to be dissolved. Therefore this trumpet is the "last."

The heart of St. Paul appears to swell with peculiar emotion when he thinks of this feature of the great day of which he speaks, for he comes back upon it, without repeating anything that he had said of the other characteristics of the day. "For," he adds, "the trumpet shall sound."

Then follows the effect, "And the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." The two classes of which he had been speaking are still before him,—the dead, and they who are alive at the Lord's coming. Of the one he says that they shall be raised, and that no longer in the state of corruption; *i.e.* of weakness and decay and liability to death in which they had lived on earth, but

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incorruptible. Of the other he says simply, without as yet specifying the characteristics of the change, "and we shall be changed." Many attempts, more or less plausible, have been made to show that under the "we" thus spoken of the Apostle does not necessarily include himself, and that he thus leaves no imputation to be made upon the accuracy of that view of the future which it is thought his inspiration must have secured to him. These attempts can hardly be said to have been successful; and all that it seems possible to contend for is, that there is no dogmatic assertion of the fact that he and the men of that generation would certainly be alive when the Lord came. As, at ver. 51, he can hardly be understood to maintain that no one of his own generation, including himself, will die before that time, so he can hardly be understood to maintain here that he and they will certainly be then alive. He may have thought it highly probable that such would be the case; and the tone of his earlier writings, as in the two epistles to the Thessalonians (for the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians teaches upon this point no other lesson than the first), confirms the impression that he did entertain some expectation of the kind. If so, we can the more easily comprehend that he should throw himself into that position in the manner we have already endeavoured to explain. But it is not easy to see why an expectation of the kind, though proved by the event to be false, should weaken our confidence in the general inspiration under which he wrote. That inspiration did not extend to the times and the seasons when the events connected with the second coming would occur. Our Lord Himself said of His coming: "But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mark xiii. 32). Even after His resurrection, and when commissioning His Apostles to their work, He said: "It is not for you to know the times or seasons, which the

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Father hath set within His own authority" (Acts i. 7). To suppose that inspiration ought to have included such knowledge is to suppose that Christ Himself was not inspired. On the other hand, if St. Paul and the Christians of those days did not know when the second coming would take place, what could they expect but that it would be immediate? Let us place ourselves in their position. Let us be persecuted, afflicted, tormented, with no prospect before us in this world but a daily dying. Let us then remember the "blessed hope" of the return of Him on whom the most ardent affections of our souls are fixed; and who, when He does return, will bring us freedom from all our troubles, rest from all our enemies, and eternal joy in His own immediate presence. Let us dwell on these things till our hearts, like those of the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, burn within us, till already the darkness of the present vanishes and the glory of the future is around us, and what other idea can we entertain but that in all probability Christ will come before we die? We shall not think of ourselves as doomed to die. The grave will not be the termination of the vista down which we look into the future. We shall see the Lord's chariot of glory already appearing and rapidly approaching: and the natural language of our lips will be, "Come quickly, Lord Jesus." The dead are dead, and shall soon awake. We shall be changed. Let us admit that St. Paul expected not to die, and we may still urge that his inspiration, in any just sense of the word, is not weakened because the expectation was not fulfilled.

All this then the apostle declares to be "a mystery" (ver. 51). It would seem that the word is not to be applied to the raising of the dead. It is applied only to the changing of the living, and perhaps to their being presented, along with Christians raised from the dead, in one blessed company to their Lord. This supposition is involved in

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the meaning of the term upon which, as used in the New Testament, there is general agreement. It is used to signify a truth unknown before, but now made known by positive revelation. In this sense it could scarcely be applied to the raising of dead Christians. Christ was risen: these must rise with Him. Their resurrection was a logical inference from accomplished and acknowledged fact, rather than a revelation. But the other half of the statement, that the living shall be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, and that then both sections of the great Christian army shall be "caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall ever be with the Lord" (1 Thess. iv. 17),—that was a revelation, a statement of the future, of things which "eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man, but unto us God revealed them through the Spirit" (1 Cor. ii. 9, 10). We complain of the darkness of the future, and in many respects it is dark. On one point we have light. Why do we so often forget it? "He that cometh will come, and will not tarry." He will come "to be glorified in His saints, and to be admired in all them that believe"; and every true member of His body shall be with Him. However long they may have slept in their graves, in whatever uttermost parts of the earth or of the sea they dwell when the trumpet sounds, not one of them shall be lost. Provision has been made for all, and we may "comfort one another with these words."

W. MILLIGAN.

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"IT BECAME HIM."

(HEB. II. 10.)

THE thought expressed by the three words, "It became Him," is so contrary to modern feeling, and has been so much overlooked by modern exposition, that it is worth our while to examine it carefully. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews plainly states in these words his conviction that the sufferings and death of the incarnate Word were suitable to the greatness of God. He says: "It became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Author of their salvation perfect through suffering." This is a distinct statement that the sufferings of Christ were in harmony with the greatness of God. A remarkable assertion, and one which at first view excites wonder and doubt. If the writer, in order to prove his point, had appealed to the love of God, his argument would have satisfied the mind of the reader very readily; but when he declares that the pain of Christ was becoming to the nature of God, because God is the absolute Being, he seems only to create a difficulty.

The description of God given in this passage, as the Being "for whom are all things, and through whom are all things," is one which would be received more or less perfectly by most thinkers of our century. It is a definition which appeals at once to the modern mind. But at the same time this conception of God—a conception which lifts Him infinitely above the level of men—is one great reason why moderns have so much difficulty in believing in Jesus Christ as a real revelation of the God-head. When God is regarded as the infinite, eternal source of all nature, and when nature is thought of in all the immensity revealed by

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modern science—an immensity of space in which the earth is but a speck, an infinity of evolution in which the whole history of man is but an incident—it seems, at first sight, an absurdity to speak of the humble, painful life and death of Jesus of Nazareth as a revelation of the Deity. Yet it is to this very conception of God's greatness that the appeal is made in the words, "It became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Author of their salvation perfect through suffering."

The first consideration suggested by this difficulty is that the writers of both Testaments never separate the moral greatness of God from His greatness in nature. In this thought the two are inseparably united. It is unnecessary to pause in order to prove this at length. Hebrew thought everywhere looks at God's relation to the world from the moral and spiritual standpoint; and in the New Testament the Divine offices of our Lord as Saviour of men are almost always described in physical language. And so we are doing no violence to the sense of the passage if we understand the writer to mean that the method of redemption harmonizes with that supreme moral splendour which must belong to Him for whom and through whom are all things. To the apostolic mind God's infinite greatness in nature carries with it, as a matter of course, a moral character equally elevated.

The modern mind, on the contrary, is so overwhelmed in the immensity of the physical facts and conceptions accumulated by recent discovery, that it has almost lost the sense of the supremacy of morals. The ordinary devotee of evolution has not grasped the first thought of Pascal's *Pensées* that even though the universe crush man, yet man is greater than the universe, for he knows he is crushed. And still more does the evolutionist fail to understand how completely man is raised above the merely physical by his

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faculty of estimating moral value. Once it is learned how fundamental is the position which the synthetical unity of the *ego* occupies in all knowledge, the supremacy of the spiritual is established; and very soon a further step will be taken, and it will be understood that the infinite Power behind nature is not a mere unknowable absolute, but a being of whom must be predicated intelligence and morality. And then will appear the truth and value of Rabbi ben Ezra's confidence:

> "Rejoice we are allied
> To that which doth provide
> And not partake, effect and not receive!
> A spark disturbs our clod;
> Nearer we hold of God
> Who gives, than of his tribes that take, I must believe."

When we have thus gained a standpoint from which a modern student of philosophy can appreciate the thought and feeling of the apostolic age, we are in a position to examine the remarkable assertion of the passage before us, that the sufferings of Christ were in harmony with the greatness of God.

We have just had a glimpse of a very good reason why the intelligent and moral nature of man can be regarded as a more or less imperfect index to the nature of God. Let us then in the present instance guide ourselves by this index, remembering only that the infinite greatness of God may multiply indefinitely the persuasive force of a motive.

In this place an illustration may be useful. Suppose that a man falls into grievous sin and consequent misery, and that his evil case comes to the knowledge of another, who feels bound to do his best to save the sinner. It is obvious that the first thing the would be deliverer must do is to enter into sympathy with the object of his pity. And the stronger the relations of sympathy he establishes, the greater his chance of success. But it is not enough that

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he should be able to sympathise with the sinner, the sinner must be made to feel that sympathy. Now it may be perfectly true that God, knowing as He does the thoughts of all hearts, is by His very nature in perfect sympathy with every human soul, but how is man to be made to feel the reality and intensity of the Divine sympathy? When a good man desires to make some degraded fellow creature aware of his brotherly feelings, he is ready to sacrifice himself and his pleasures in many ways, in order to attain that end; and often it needs great self-denial and long-suffering before a hardened sinner can be brought to feel that some one better, happier, and more fortunate than himself really takes an interest in him and desires his improvement. And in all such cases, the greater the moral nature of the benevolent man, the more profound will be his sympathy and the greater his self-sacrifice.

Now the climax of such sympathy and such self-sacrifice is the incarnation of Christ. It is impossible to imagine anything more God-like. Just as God transcends men in wisdom, power, and goodness, so does the incarnation transcend every possible human action as an expression of sympathy with the fallen. We cannot conceive anything better calculated to convince the sinner of God's interest in him. The very greatness of the sympathy which could express itself in such a manner makes it suitable to God. To suppose it improbable that God should do such a thing is to think meanly of His moral nature. It is not honouring Him to imagine Him incapable of such an action, nor is it a lofty conception of His greatness to think Him too little in His sympathy to become man.

But we cannot cut short our argument at the incarnation. That great miracle was but the introduction to a life of poverty and suffering and a death of shame. In former days it appeared a strange thing to men that the most Divine life ever lived on earth was a humble, suffer-

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ing life of self-abnegation, crowned by a dishonoured death. To the Jews it was a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness. And surely it must have seemed a strange thing that any could believe such a life and death the most noble of human histories! A Solomon who adorned his regal splendour with moral purity as well as superhuman wisdom would seem to the average mind a much more suitable Christ than the poor, despised Prophet of Nazareth. In contrast with this very natural feeling we ought to be thankful to observe how unanimously the best thinkers of our time, whether Christian or not, agree that the picture of the suffering Messiah, as afforded to the imagination in the life of Jesus, is the highest and holiest model ever presented for human imitation.

We have seen that when one man wishes to lift another from degradation, he must be prepared for self-denial. Through suffering of some sort the saviour must approach the sinner, in order to touch the heart and gain its confidence. And the greater the moral nature of the saviour, the greater the sacrifice which he will be willing to make for the object of his pity. There have been men who renounced all the joys of life, and gave them up for ever, that they might help the miserable or raise the fallen; and when we have heard of them our hearts have been stirred to their depths at the thought of such greatness, and we have felt that nothing could better prove true nobility of soul than willingness to enter upon great and continued suffering for the sake of others. Let the same principle be applied to the life of Christ. He voluntarily enters upon a long course of the most terrible suffering, both of body and mind, for the sake of debased creatures who do not love Him. His suffering exceeds all other suffering, and His self-denial all other self-denial; and for that very reason His life is becoming to the greatness of God.

The death of Christ is but the crowning proof of this

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divinity of His life. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." In every such instance in which one man dies for another we are convinced we have seen a hero, a man of surpassing greatness. But the death of Christ goes beyond every other heroic death. In all its circumstances it is, as an act of self-sacrifice, worthy of the supreme goodness. It is becoming to "Him for whom are all things, and through whom are all things." It is, in one word, Divine.

Perhaps it may be objected that the infinitely great difference between God and man cuts the ground from under this probability. The incarnation, it may be urged, is improbable, in spite of the Divine heroism of Christ, because God is the infinite, all-embracing Absolute, while man is finite in all his conditions and circumstances. The difference, it will be said, is one of kind, not of degree. There is no doubt indeed that it would utterly vitiate the argument if it were admitted that the difference between God and man is altogether one of kind, and not of degree. That is, to get rid of the ambiguity of expression, if it were admitted that God and man have no attributes in common. The agnostic view of God's nature as unknowable—an absolute completely out of relation to man's thinking faculties—destroys, of course, every attempt to reason from the human to the Divine, and makes revelation impossible. But from the Christian stand-point, which rests upon faith in God's intelligence and goodness, and which, let us thankfully acknowledge, is quite in harmony with the best philosophical thought of Germany and England, the great difference between God and man will be found but to heighten the probability. For if the terms intelligence and morality can be applied to God in the same sense as to man, and if, at the same time, it be remembered that where man is finite God is infinite, then it becomes evident that a degree of goodness and

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self-sacrifice which would seem impossible to us is but suitable to the greatness of God.

Suppose, for instance, that a man became aware of a race of creatures, gifted with intelligent and moral faculties, but infinitely below men in all their conditions, some insect tribe, hateful and disgusting in their habits. Suppose that he found it would be possible to sacrifice the dignity and comforts of manhood and become one of them, and enter into their life and degradation, and by so doing raise them to a vastly higher condition. Could any man be found to make so great a sacrifice? It is not likely. And for this reason, that, if such a deed were possible, men are not great enough to sacrifice themselves on behalf of beings so far below them. We should draw back from such a sacrifice, because our moral stature is not grand enough. It would take a nobler morality than man has yet attained to act in so God-like a fashion.

Now such a supposition gives but a faint image of the sacrifice Christ made in His incarnation and death. Yet that sacrifice is not thereby rendered improbable, but all the more worthy of "Him for whom are all things, and through whom are all things." The life and death of Christ as depicted in the gospels and expounded by the writers of the New Testament is, in fact, worthy of the greatness of God, and of His greatness alone.

At the present day unbelieving thought may be divided roughly into two classes. One, agnostic, revelling in mere physical evolution, and thoughtlessly and hastily dismissing all philosophical and theological inquiry as so much waste of intellect. The other, whether basing its belief on transcendental criticism or not, holds firmly to faith in God and the reality of man's spiritual existence; but denies, with a sort of wondering incredulity, the superhuman elements in the life of Christ. To minds of the latter class the passage before us should make a strong appeal. It

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provides a connecting link between their philosophy and the fulness of Christian faith. If they believe in God's intelligence and moral nature, they ought surely to pause before rejecting as false the history of a superhuman life which is in harmony with their own conception of Deity, which comes to them enforced by a vast body of evidence, which has been the primal source of spiritual inspiration to the best men of the best races for nearly two thousand years, and which has nothing opposed to it but a prejudice that the miraculous can never have happened because it does not happen in our ordinary experience.

CHARLES F. D'ARCY.

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THE SINNER'S PROGRESS.

"Let no man when he is tempted say, 'I am tempted of God'; for God is incapable of evil, and He tempteth no man. But every man is tempted when he is drawn aside by his own lust, and enticed: then the lust, having conceived, bringeth forth sin; and the sin, when it is mature, bringeth forth death."—JAMES i. 13–15.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH has found a proof of the depravity of man where few men would have looked for it, in the history of words. He points out that many words, which when first used had an innocent and even commendable meaning, have come by use to carry a doubtful or malignant sense; and in this degradation of our words he sees a proof and illustration of human depravity. If we taint and soil the words we commonly employ, that can only be because they pass through polluted lips. Words express character; and if our words sink into a lower and baser sense as we use them, it is because they are weighted with some evil bias from our character and lives.

The word "temptation," both in Greek and English, is a case in point. According to its derivation and original use, the word simply means "test," whatever tends to excite, to draw out and bring to the surface, the hidden contents of the heart, whatever serves to indicate the ruling bent. The heart of man is the home of a multitude of thoughts, desires, impulses, affections, many of which are contrary the one to the other; so that at times even we ourselves cannot tell what our ruling bent is, or what our true moral complexion. And any event, any touch of circumstance or occasion, which compels these conflicting impulses and passions to assort and organize themselves, and thus show us what our ruling bent really is, is a temptation. It is called a temptation, simply because it puts us to the proof, and reveals what manner of spirit we are of. But in process of time the word has come to

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have a darker significance. For if there is much that is good in us, there is also much that is evil. And because, in their intercourse with each other, men are too often bent on provoking that which is evil in each other, rather than on eliciting and strengthening that which is good, the word "temptation" has sunk from its original plane, and has come to signify mainly such testings and trials of character as are designed to draw out the evil that is in us; trials and tests skilfully adapted to our besetting infirmities, and likely to develop the lower and baser qualities of our nature.

These, then, are the two meanings of the word "temptation." At first it denoted only a moral test, a test intended to prove and reveal inward character, whether it were good or bad. But it has come to denote moral, or immoral, tests which appeal to the baser elements of our nature, to lower character and pollute it. It is because of this double meaning of the word that we meet in Scripture such apparently contradictory phrases as, "Lead us not into temptation," and, "Count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations."

It is in this double meaning of the word, moreover, that we find the key to the apparently contradictory statements that God does tempt men, and that He does not tempt them. He does tempt us all in the sense that He puts us all to the proof, and compels us at times to see what manner of men we are. And it was in this sense, no doubt, that He tempted Abraham. So far as we can collect the story from the ancient record, Abraham had grown so fond of the son of his old age, that he could not tell which was his ruling affection, love for Isaac or love for Jehovah. He seems to have brought his doubt, his fear, to God, to have asked that he might be kept from loving his son more than he loved his Father in heaven. For God could not have tempted him in order that He Himself, the All-seeing

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and All-wise, should learn which was the stronger affection of the two. It must have been for Abraham's sake that the trial came, to solve *his* doubt, to remove his fear. And the trial was of a kind which could not fail to show him what his ruling affection was. He was called, or he thought himself called, to sacrifice his only and beloved son. When he had met such a test as this, he could no longer doubt that God held the supreme place in his heart.

"But suppose he had failed to meet so severe a test?"

Well, even in that case, would it not have been merciful to expose him to it? If Abraham *was* failing in his loyalty to Heaven, if God no longer stood first with him, was it not better that he should know it, and so be led to repent his sin, than that he should be left to deceive himself till he utterly fell away from God? Would it not, even in that case, have been kind of God to put him to the proof, to teach him what he was and where he stood?

As God tempted Abraham, so He tempts us. He applies to us the test of opportunity, brings us into conditions in which we *must* disclose our true nature, our supreme affection, and show whether we do, or do not, love Him and His will above all else. In either case, His end, His purpose, is merciful and gracious. If we stand the test, our faith comes out of the fire all the stronger and purer, and we touch the joy of those who have "endured." If we fail—if we love, and show that we love, the gain a lie will bring us more than the truth by which we may lose, or the praise of men more than the blessing of God, or the comforts of life more than the hope of immortality; if, in short, we cannot *endure* the trials which make men perfect,—is it not better that we should know it, that we should become conscious of the fatal weakness which, but for our failure, we might never have suspected, and so be driven to seek strength from on high? We are wont to live so negligently, to give entertainment to so many

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various and often injurious affections and desires, that we perpetually need seasons of testing and self-manifestation, in order that we may know ourselves as we are, and be moved to self-condemnation and self-amendment.

But if, in this sense, God tempts every man, there is a sense in which "He tempts no man." For it is never the design of the trials to which He puts us to bring out and confirm that which is evil in us. Men may try to irritate us, to excite our passions, to pamper our lusts; but God never. It is always His purpose to bring out and confirm that which is good in us; or, if He show us wherein we are weak, it is not that we may remain weak and foolish, but that we may seek and find strength and wisdom in Him.

When we have fallen into "temptation," in the bad sense of that word—when, that is, we have yielded to an evil influence, and have suffered our baser passions to be excited,—we are apt to say, "I am tempted of God," to plead: "Well, after all, *He* made me what I am. Am *I* to blame for my passionate temperament, or for the strength and fierceness of my desires?" Or, again, we say: "Circumstances were against me. The opportunity was too tempting, my need or my craving was too importunate, to be resisted. And are not our circumstances and condition appointed by Him?" Thus we charge God foolishly, knowing and feeling all the while that it is we ourselves who are to blame whenever the lower part of our nature is permitted a supremacy against which the higher part protests. The forger pleads his poverty, the drunkard his insatiable thirst; but they both know that, before they yielded and became what they are, a thousand alarms were sounded in their breast, and that God was striving with them through these alarms, and that they might have resisted the temptation had they trusted in Him and trained themselves in self-denial and self-control.

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God tempts no man, affirms St. James, and assigns as a reason, "for God is *unversed* in evil," or "God is *incapable* of evil," or "God is *untemptable* with evil"; for in these three several ways this one word is translated. His implied argument is sufficiently clear, however we may render his words. What he assumes is, "Every one who tempts another to do evil must have some evil in his own nature. But there is no shadow or taint of evil in God, and therefore it is impossible that God should tempt any man." To us, the absolute goodness of God is a mere truism. But we must remember that, to the early Christians, it would not be so mere a truism as it is to us. The gods whom their neighbours worshipped had much that was base and fierce and sensual in them. *They* were by no means unversed in evil or incapable of it. And hence they often tempted men, or were even tempted by them. It is against this dark heathen background that St. James writes, in letters of light, of a God unpractised in evil, incapable of it, and who can neither tempt men nor be tempted. The argument is unimpeachable. For if God is absolutely devoid of evil, if He is of an absolute goodness, it cannot be His will that any man should fall.

But if the evil temptations we have to encounter do not come from God, whence do they come? What is their true origin and source?

To this question St. James replies, "*Every man is tempted when he is drawn aside of his own lust, and enticed*"—the man's lust being here conceived of as a harlot who lavishes her blandishments upon him; "*then the lust, having conceived, bringeth forth sin; and the sin, when it is mature, bringeth forth death.*" The origin of sin is in man's own breast, in his own hot and extravagant desires for any kind of temporal or sensual good; and the Apostle traces the sinner's career through the successive steps that lead down to death.

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First, the man is *drawn aside*. James conceives of him as occupied with his daily task, busily discharging the duties of his daily calling. While he is thus engaged, a craving for some unlawful or excessive gratification, for a gain that cannot be honestly secured, or an indulgence which cannot be taken soberly and in the fear of God, springs up within his mind. The craving haunts his mind, and takes form in it. He bends his regards on it, and is drawn towards it. At first, perhaps, his will is firm, and he refuses to yield to its attraction. But the craving is very strong; it touches him at his weak point. And when it comes back to him again and again, it swells and grows into what St. James calls a "lust." It is "his *own* lust," the passion most native to him, and most potent with such as he—the love of gain, or the love of rule, or the love of distinction, or some affection of a baser strain. It may be any one of these, but it is *his own*, that which is most special and familiar with him. For a time he may resist its fascination; but ere long his work is laid aside, the claims of duty are neglected, the warnings of conscience unheeded. He has, indeed, no definite intention of abandoning the ways of duty and peace; he would be indignant with you were you to charge him with any such intention. He will be back in a moment. All he means is to get a nearer view of this strange, alluring visitor, to lift its veil, to see what it is like and for what intent it beckons him away. And so he takes his first step: he is *drawn aside* from the clear and beaten path of duty.

Then he is *enticed*, "allured," as the Greek word implies, "with pleasant baits." His craving waxes stronger, the object of desire more attractive, as he advances. It spreads out all its enchantments before him, while all that might repel him is carefully concealed. All specious excuses—all that moralists have allowed or bold transgressors have claimed—are urged upon him, until at last his scruples are

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overborne, and he yields himself a willing captive to his lust.

Then lust "*conceives.*" The will consents to the wish; the evil desire grows toward an evil deed. Peace has forsaken him. He can know no rest till his craving be gratified. All homely, loyal toils, all simple, innocent delights, lose their charm. The good work in which he was occupied looks tame and wearisome to him. He is fevered by passion, and absorbed in it.

Having conceived, "*lust bringeth forth sin.*" The bad purpose has become a bad deed, and the bad deed is followed by its natural results. Coming to the light, his evil deeds may be reproved. When the sin is born, the man may recognise his guilt. He may repent, and be forgiven and restored. If he be a good man momentarily led astray, he *will* be saved; for "the Lord knoweth how to deliver *the godly* out of temptation," even when they have succumbed to it. To Him that seeth in secret he will confess his secret sin. Humbled, penitent, suffering, yet not without hope, he will retrace his steps, resume his work.

But if he do not turn and repent, the last step will be taken, and *sin, being matured, will bring forth death.* Action will grow into habit, the sinful action into a habit of sinning. As sin grows and matures, it will rob him of his energy. He will no longer make a stand against temptation. He will wholly surrender himself to his lust, until all that makes him man dies out of him, and only the fierce, brutal craving remains.

Hogarth has left us a familiar series of pictures entitled "The Rake's Progress," in which the career of a profligate spendthrift is sketched from its commencement to its close. Were I an artist, I would paint you a similar series on a kindred but wider theme, *The Sinner's Progress.*

In the first you should see a man comely with health and

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stalwart with honest toil, with all the tokens of homely comfort and cheerful, prosperous labour about him. He should stand at his work-bench surrounded by the products of his skill, the tools of his craft in one hand while, with the other, in a welcome pause of labour, he wipes the sweat from his brow. Through casement and door he should look out on green meadows, watered by a running, songful brook, on trees and flowers, and a heaven the brighter for its cloud, with whatever else might serve to suggest the content and peace of a wholesome and upward-tending life. But gazing on him through the open casement, and seeming to beckon him away, there should stand the fair, alluring wanton who is to work him so much woe (*Spring*).

In the second your eye should rest on the pleasant, secluded spot, hard by the brook and overarched with trees, to which she had led his wandering steps. Half hidden by the lush grass and wild flowers, there should lie the temptress, lavishing on him her charms and wiles, while on his face you should read the passionate lines of the conflict between duty and desire (*Summer*).

In the third you should see these two, parents now, returned to his old home, and, with them, their foul and deformed offspring, Sin: she despoiled of every charm; he, moody, weary of her, desperate of himself, with no heart for his former toils and no success in them, his face darkening with the prophetic shadows of coming doom (*Autumn*).

In the last, sad scene of all, the homestead should lie waste and overrun with weeds, the home desolate and tumbling to decay, the leafless branches torn and rent by wintry winds, the swift musical stream mute and chained by frost; within, webs, rags, broken and rusted tools, with all the signs of squalid penury, to suggest the bitter history of years. And as you peered into the gloom of the background two figures — but only two, for Lust is long since dead—should come duskily into view: the wretched

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father lying wan and bleeding on the ground, and, standing over him, the Sin which he had begotten and fostered, his hand raised to smite the fatal blow (*Winter*).

For then you would have before you, not only the thought of the apostle, but *the very figures in which that thought clothed itself* when he penned this passage on the origin of sin and the pedigree of death.

Here, then, we may see both our danger and our safety. God sends us trials in our temperaments and conditions, and in the changes and opportunities through which we pass. Not only has He planted in our nature animal appetites and desires, He has also given us ambitions and affections, which are innocent and commendable when they are lawfully indulged. And, in His providence, He brings us to crises and tests which put our manhood to the proof, and show whether or not we have learned to rule and deny ourselves, and can subordinate that which is sensual in us to that which is spiritual, that which is temporal to that which is eternal. It is natural that we should love the comforts and pleasures of life, that we should pursue the gains by which they are brought within our reach. It is natural that we should love society, the good opinion of our neighbours, and even the distinction of being raised in some worthy way above the crowd. But our danger is lest we should seek any one of these, or any similar ends, with an undue eagerness, by unlawful or dishonourable means, and so permit it to become a "lust" to which we must sacrifice principle, conviction, and the sense of duty, caring more for it than for the love and service of God and man. God's end in trying us, in sending opportunities which disclose our ruling bent, is that we may endure them well, that we may let them work patience and self-mastery in us, that we may become perfect and entire, lacking nothing, and,

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as being perfect, may receive the crown of life. But, alas! every one of us has his own special lust, some craving which we find it very hard to resist; and when the trial comes, instead of meeting it and surmounting it, we may suffer ourselves to be drawn aside and enticed; we may fall into a sin, and so into a habit of sinning, that will only too surely bring forth death. And thus, by our fatal weakness, we may reach the very opposite end to that which God intended to lead us; we may drown ourselves in sin and perdition instead of rising into a crowned and victorious life. Do we not all know men who, even if they are not killing their bodies, are killing their souls by intemperance and dissipation, or by a too eager pursuit of wealth and distinction, or even by a too close and absorbing addiction to the duties of an honourable vocation?

If *we* are not thus losing our life in the attempt to gain it, it is not because there is not in us the evil proneness which is working death in them; but because, by the grace of God, we have been guarded from its worst and most fatal effects, because in some poor measure we have been made partakers of the Divine nature which is incapable of evil. In this, and in this alone, lies our safety. We must become, as St. Paul phrases it, "partakers of Christ and of God," if we would not pass through temptation and lust and sin to death. Or, as St. Peter phrases it, we must become "partakers of the Divine nature" if we would escape "the corruption that is in the world *through lust.*" Our natural cravings are so strong and constant, and habit soon acquires so great a force in us, that nothing short of the energies of a Divine life in the soul will enable us to rule our cravings or to break from the bondage of habit. And this Divine life is offered to us in Christ Jesus, who took our nature upon Him, that "we might be filled with all the fulness of God."

S. Cox.

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THE PARABLES OF JUDGMENT.

(MATT. XXIV. 45–XXV. 46 ; LUKE XII. 35–48.)

THE Gospel of St. Matthew is not so much a biography of our Lord, as an account of His teaching set in a comparatively slight framework of biography; and it is generally agreed that St. Matthew has not endeavoured to relate the discourses in the order in which they were actually spoken, but rather in such an order that they may throw light on each other. This is no disparagement of the evangelist's inspiration; on the contrary, we have no doubt he was guided in his arrangement of his Lord's discourses by the same Holy Spirit who "spake by the prophets."

St. Matthew has ended his account of the Lord's teaching with a group of consecutive discourses, parabolic in form, and having for their subject the Lord's coming in judgment at the end of the present dispensation. These we call the Parables of Judgment;—this description applies to the account of the judgment of all nations with which chapter xxv. concludes, as well as to the rest; they all describe spiritual realities through visual imagery, and this is the definition of a parable. There are however other Parables of Judgment, notably that of the Wheat and the Tares, and that of the Draw-net, which belong to an early period of our Lord's teaching.

It is perhaps commonly thought that the concluding parables of St. Matthew's Gospel are three: the parable of the Ten Virgins, that of the Talents, and that of the Sheep and the Goats. This however is a mistake, due to the inappropriate division of the chapters. There is no break at the end of chap. xxiv., except the ending of one parable and the commencement of another. The concluding Parables of Judgment are not three but four, and

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they begin with what may be called the parable of the Faithful Steward, chap. xxiv. 45–51. This is not usually called a parable, because it is not introduced as such; but it is so in substance. It occurs with very little difference in St. Luke xii. 42–48, where the word *steward* occurs; the corresponding word in St. Matthew is *bondservant* (margin of Revised Version), but there is no inconsistency, for the steward in Eastern households was often a slave, who, though promoted to be a steward, did not cease to be a slave.

The conversation in which these parables occur took place, according to St. Matthew's narrative, on the Mount of Olives, a very few days before the Lord's death; only Peter, James, John, and Andrew were with Him, and it began with this question, when the destruction of Jerusalem and His second coming were to be. The first part of His reply is confessedly a very difficult passage, but its chief lessons are plainly these:—Not to seek after signs and wonders; to preserve a spirit of faith and patience, because the trials of His people on earth would be long and severe; and to continue in habitual watchfulness, "for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh" (ver. 44). At this point in the discourse the Parables of Judgment begin with that of the Faithful Steward.

From St. Luke however it would appear that this parable was spoken by our Lord to His disciples before His last journey to Jerusalem; and supposing this to be historically correct, as most probably it is, St. Matthew has recorded it, not in its historical, but in its logical connexion. According to St. Luke it was spoken by our Lord in reply to a question by Peter, which was itself suggested by a previous parable of our Lord (Luke xii. 35–38) and an exhortation to watchfulness that followed it. This previous parable also is not introduced as such, and is not usually called a parable, though it really is one, and was so called

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by Peter (ver. 41). It may be called the parable of the Waiting Servants. It contains what is perhaps the most wonderful of all the many gracious promises spoken by the Lord to His faithful people. "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord when He cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that He shall gird Himself, and make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them." This parable is followed by an exhortation to watchfulness, illustrated by the familiar image of the thief in the night; and then comes the question from Peter, as the spokesman of the twelve, "Lord, speakest Thou this parable unto us, or even unto all?" The Lord replied by the parable of the Faithful Steward; and in introducing this, His thought in reference to Peter's question appears to be: "I speak it to all My servants, but in a more emphatic sense to you the Apostles, and to your successors in the ministry, who are not only My servants but My stewards, set over My household, with the duty of giving their food to the other servants (ver. 42). You, if you are faithful in such a charge, shall receive, at My second coming, a higher reward than any attainable by the inferior servants, even that of being set over all your Master's property (ver. 44; comp. Matt. xix. 28, where their reward is stated to consist in being judges and rulers over Israel). But I warn you also how terrible will be their doom who, when they see Me delay My coming, use their position in the ministry of the Church as an occasion for tyranny and sensuality" (vers. 45, 46). We can scarcely doubt that this warning is prophetic of a state of things which in our Lord's time could scarcely have been foreseen by merely human wisdom, but afterwards became real, when the Church, which had come triumphantly through the trial of persecution, was assailed by the more dangerous trials of riches and power.

But St. Matthew, as we have seen, separates the parable of the Faithful Steward from its original context, and

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associates it with three other Parables of Judgment. We have now to consider the four in relation to each other.

The parable of the Faithful Steward is, as we have seen, a parable of the judgment of the Christian ministry; and its chief lesson is the duty of fidelity in service, with its necessary condition of watchfulness.

The next is the parable of the Ten Virgins. It is not a specially difficult parable; and of course every one who knows anything at all of biblical subjects is aware that its imagery, which to us Europeans is so strange as almost to seem like a leaf from the Apocalypse, is taken from one of the commonest scenes of Eastern life. Its teaching is very like that of the foregoing parable, but there are two important differences. It describes the judgment, not of the ministry especially, but of the entire Church; and it lays an exclusive emphasis, not on the active service of Christ, nor even on the habit of watchfulness, but on the necessity for keeping alight what is called, by a most appropriate though not scriptural metaphor, "the flame of vital religion." Virginity signifies purity of life; the lamps are the profession of religion; the oil is the grace of God the Holy Spirit; and the flame in the lamps is the true religion of heart and life which is produced by His gracious presence. This parable has consequently nothing whatever to do with the judgment of the heathen who know not God, or of the openly ungodly in Christian countries, or of those who, while living an orderly life, do not in word and deed acknowledge Christ. Its teaching is exclusively for the inner circle of true Christians; and for them its lessons are, in the first place, the necessity for the supply of the Holy Spirit; and, in the second, that, having received it, we are not to think that we shall retain it as a matter of course, but must use all diligence to preserve and renew it by the appointed means of grace. For it must be remembered, if we would understand the meaning of the parable,

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that the foolish virgins took with them, not merely the lamps, symbolizing the external profession of religion, but enough of oil in the lamps to last for some time; and yet the failure of the oil at the critical moment prevented them from meeting the Bridegroom. We can imagine no more emphatic rebuke of the folly of the saying, "once saved, saved for ever," which we believe is, or was, current in some religious circles; or of the reply which, to the writer's knowledge, a dying woman gave to a clergyman who asked her about her hopes, that she was safe, having been converted some years before. It is no doubt true that our Lord has elsewhere said, "My sheep shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of My hand" (John x. 27, 28). The one saying is for our warning, the other for our encouragement; the present writer does not pretend to know how the two are to be reconciled, and perhaps this must be put off until we attain to know as we are known.

The incident of all the virgins, the wise as well as the foolish, falling asleep while the Bridegroom delayed his coming, is no doubt perplexing. It appears to contradict the saying in the parable of the Waiting Servants, "Blessed are those servants whom the Lord when He cometh shall find watching" (Luke xii. 37); and it appears no less to contradict the inner meaning of the parable of the Virgins itself; for how can the watchful state of the spirit which is symbolized by the burning lamps and the reserve supply of oil, be compatible with falling asleep? But it must be observed that this is mentioned without the smallest hint of blame. We feel doubtful as to its meaning, but would suggest that it may be meant as a caution against that temper of mind, perhaps never common, but certainly not unknown, which fears to let prayer and meditation cease for a moment, lest the enemy should get an advantage. This feeling may seem very pious, but it is really born of mistrust, and of that perverted kind of faith which believes

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in itself and in the "efficacy" of its own prayers, rather than in the God who hears and answers prayer. The right reply to such notions is contained in the most deeply spiritual of all the Psalms, where the Psalmist expresses his trust in his God by saying, "When I awake, I am still with Thee," and therefore fears not to fall asleep (Ps. cxxxix. 18).

> "No evil shall have power on me,
> Under Thy shelter safely kept;
> And when I wake, I am still with Thee,
> For Thou wast with me while I slept."

But there is an interpretation of a different kind, which however is perhaps not incompatible with this; though in advancing it we do not forget that any prophetical interpretation of a parable is of secondary importance to the spiritual interpretation, and also generally of much inferior certainty. It seems probable, and has been suggested before, that this parable is not only a parable of the spiritual state of the Church for all time, but an apocalypse of its state in the age immediately before the second visible coming of the Son of man: when the Church, after passing with varying degress of success through the trial of persecution in the first ages, the trials of power and riches in what we call the Middle Ages, and the trials of intellectual perplexities in the ages which are now, shall have to

> "fulfil
> The harder task of standing still";[1]

when there shall be no special form of trial; when the speculative perplexities and the practical difficulties of this present age shall be partly solved and partly given over as insoluble; when the *ennui* of a stationary civilization, which is described with such mournful force in the book

[1] Whittier.

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of Ecclesiastes, shall have again settled down on mankind; and when it shall be more evident than it is in these days of manifold activity, that the only blessed are those who keep alight the lamp of spiritual faith and hope.

The general lesson of the parable of the Virgins appears to be identical with that of the parable of the Wedding Garment, which was spoken by our Lord some short time before, not however to the disciples alone, but to the multitude (Matt. xxii. 11–13). The foolish virgins, who accepted the invitation to the wedding, and took their lamps to go to meet the Bridegroom, but neglected the needful supply of oil, are identical with the man who, unlike some of the others, did not make light of the King's invitation (ver. 5), but accepted it, and went in among the guests; yet was turned out just as the feast was going to begin, because he had not on the wedding garment which symbolizes the "holiness without which no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. xii. 14).[1]

The parable of the Virgins has produced no effect whatever on the outer world, beyond supplying it with subjects for art and allusions to adorn rhetoric and poetry. Very different in this respect has been the parable of the Talents. Except the parable of the Prodigal, nothing in our Lord's teaching has impressed men in general so much; indeed, it is perhaps more clearly appreciated by the better kind

[1] We have little doubt of the truth of the comment, that the wedding garments were supplied by the giver of the feast. Were it not so, the man who came in without one would not have been "speechless," but would have pleaded, whether truly or not, that accident or poverty had prevented him from procuring one. This point is illustrated by the following from the Marchioness of Dufferin's *Our Viceregal Life in India*, giving an account of a native dinner party:

"Our first proceeding was to dress ourselves properly for this festival, and as soon as we got to the house we were taken into a dressing room, were divested of our own gowns, and were draped in saris.

* * * * *

About ten o'clock we took off our native costume and returned home, our hostess insisting on presenting each of us with the saris we had worn."

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of worldly men—those who have a serious and unselfish interest in such legitimate secular matters as science, art, and politics—than by the inner circle of those who recognise the obligation of doing all things in the name of Christ and with a sense of responsibility to Him; for the latter have too often been inclined to treat those secular interests as if they were outside the dominion of Christ, and incapable of being consecrated to His service. The impression which this parable has produced on the general mind of Christian countries is shown in the curious way in which the word talent, which ought never to be used in the sense of endowment without an evident allusion to this parable, has come, not only in our language, but also in French and German, to be a mere synonym for ability.

The parable of the Virgins and that of the Waiting Servants describe the judgment of the entire Church. The parable of the Talents, like that of the Faithful Steward, on the contrary, especially describes the judgment of the Ministry; for we are told that the lord of the servants, on departing for a time, distributed his goods, evidently meaning all his money, among his servants; thus symbolizing the departure of Christ, and His entrusting His interests on earth to His apostles and their successors in the ministry. It is self-evident, however, that the principle is applicable to all; and this is expressly taught, by the same imagery, in the parable of the Pounds (Luke xix. 12), where a great nobleman is described as entrusting ten servants with a pound (*mina*, about £3 sterling) each, in order to make trial of their fidelity and their devotion to his service. There is nothing here about confiding all their lord's interest to these ten; they were all placed in an equal and not very high position of trust, representing the position of all who have learned the "first principles of Christ" (Heb. vi. 1).

The parables of the Virgins and of the Talents are also con-

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trasted in another and a far more remarkable way; namely, as to the principle on which judgment is to be awarded. In the former, as we have remarked, exclusive stress is laid on the necessity for keeping the flame of true religion burning in the heart; service, and even watchfulness, are lost sight of; all, the wise as well as the foolish, slumbered and slept while the bridegroom tarried. In the parable of the Talents, on the contrary, nothing is said about the religion of the heart; watchfulness is no doubt implied, for a man cannot make money while asleep; but the stress is exclusively laid on the duty of active and earnest service. It is not a sufficient answer to say that the devotion of the heart and the service of the life imply each other, for this is not always true. Our Lord has taught us that it is possible to do mighty works in His name, and yet, not having His Spirit, to be none of His (Matt. vii. 22, 23; comp. Rom. viii. 9). But He demands both the heart and the life; and the exclusive emphasis, first on the one and then on the other, in each of these two parables, is an instance of our Lord's method, which is that of the biblical writers generally, of insisting on one truth at a time, and letting their reconciliation take care of itself. The truth in which these two truths are reconciled and combined is the truth taught by our Lord in the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (though He does not teach it as a way of reconciling other truths); namely, that we shall be received, not according to what we have done, nor according to what we have believed, but according to what we are. For both faith and works are of value in the Divine sight only in so far as they form character.

It is much more remarkable, that in the Parables of Judgment our Lord carries His method of enforcing one truth at a time so far as to speak not one word about the possibility of repentance and forgiveness; and yet we know that this is with Him a characteristic and cardinal doctrine.

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We have seen that the parable of the Waiting Servants and that of the Virgins represent the judgment of the Church, and the parable of the Faithful Steward and that of the Talents the judgment of the Ministry: in like manner, the judgment of the World is represented by the imagery of the Sheep and the Goats. All men, of all nations, shall be gathered together for judgment; those who have shown kindness shall be rewarded, and those who have shown unkindness shall be punished, as if their deeds were done to Christ Himself, even though they have not thought of Him, nor ever heard His name. Not as if there were three distinct judgments, for the Ministry, the Church, and the World: "all must be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. v. 10). There shall be one judgment for all, but each shall be judged according to his knowledge and according to his responsibilities. Mercy and kindness shall be demanded from those who have had to live by the light of nature only; the account of the judgment of all nations is, in fact, an expansion of the Lord's saying, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy," combined with the equally certain truth that the unmerciful shall be judged without mercy (Jas. ii. 13). But, in addition to this, the Lord demands watchfulness and the cultivation of spiritual life from those who have been taught to know Christ; and especial devotion to His service from the ministers of His gospel, and from all others who have been entrusted with any especial "talent."

In the relation between the judgment of the World, the Church, and the Ministry, as set forth in these parables, there is no difficulty whatever. But there is a real difficulty, as it seems to us, regarding the principle on which our Lord declares that the world is to be judged. His only

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demand is for mercy and kindness. Of course faith, in the distinctively Christian usage of the word, is not to be asked of those who have had no opportunity of learning to know Christ. But why, in concluding His teaching on the subject of future judgment, does the Lord say nothing about purity and truthfulness, virtues which are insisted on in all scriptural teaching, as well as taught by the light of nature? We are unable to answer this question. It is impossible that our Lord can have meant to underrate the importance of purity and truthfulness; in such a context it seems unsatisfactory to speak of His method of teaching one truth at a time, but we have no other explanation to suggest.

The difficulty however is not a practical one. It is universally true, that "to whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required" (Luke xii. 48); a closer conformity with the law of God shall be exacted from those who have been taught to know Christ than from the ignorant and the heathen. We know not how the heathen shall be judged; we know only that the God of all the earth will do right, and that the Searcher of hearts will make right allowance for each man's ignorance and inability. But we know that from all who have had the light of nature the Judge demands kindness, purity, and truthfulness; we know that from all who have learned to understand the parable of the Watching Servants He demands the spirit and the habit of watchfulness; we know that from all who have learned to understand the parables of the Talents and of the Pounds He demands the consecration of all their powers to His service; and we know that from all who have learned to understand the parable of the Ten Virgins He demands the consecration of the heart to Himself.

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY.

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ON SOME FRAGMENTS OF A PRE-HIERONYMIAN LATIN VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

In the year 1520 was printed at Paris a quarto volume entitled, *Centum et Duæ Quæstiones et totidem Responsiones Morales super Genesim.* These *Quæstiones* were edited by Justinianus Genuensis Prædicatoriæ observationis professor, Trebiensis Episcopus, and by him dedicated to Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis, king of France. The king had summoned Justinianus from Rome to Paris, and in gratitude he takes occasion to present the queen-mother with "nonnihil nostræ literariæ suppellectilis"; namely, with this edition of the *CII. Quæstiones*, which he thinks are rightly attributed to Philo.

This dedication makes it probable that Justinianus had brought the manuscript of these *Quæstiones* with him from Rome, where in the Vatican there are still preserved some old Latin MSS. of Philo, which would no doubt be well worth overhauling. Justinianus was only editor, not author, of this Latin version published at Paris, and by him the following notice is appended to the text:

"Explicitus est liber quæstionum moralium super Genesim Philonis Indæi, ut sane vetustum attestatur exemplar: quæque aut ab interprete aut a malevolo quopiam aut certe ab ignaro Scriptore nonnulla a margine in contextum traducta, etiam in Philonem dicta, comperies."

In addition to this foreign matter however, the editor prints continuously, as if it were part of the hundred and second *responsio*, about half of an old Latin version of the *Therapeutæ* of Philo. A page had either dropped out of the manuscript or was neglected by the printer, for the greater part of the *responsio* and the first forty lines of the *Therapeutæ* are omitted, the two being run into one another abruptly.

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The next edition of these *Quæstiones* was made by one Sichardus, a friend of Budæus, and was printed at Basle in 1527, at the press of Adamus Petrus. In this edition the *Therapeutæ* again follows the *Quæstiones*, but is kept separate from it, and entitled by the editor *De Essæis*, because it begins with the words, "De statu Essæorum disputaturus," etc. These two pieces are not ascribed to any particular translator, but at the end of the last *quæstio* and *responsio* is printed the following:

"Interpres:
secundum consequentiam testimoniorum divinæ Scripturæ non exposuit Philo titulos allegoriæ, sed ea captare voluit capitula, quæ videntur intutui mentis suæ succurrisse."

In the same volume appeared the *Liber Antiquitatum*, of doubtful Philonean origin, of which the Latin version is put down as *incerto auctore*, the *De Nominibus Hebraicis*, rendered into Latin by Hieronymus, and the spurious book *De Mundo*, by Budæus.

The identity of style, and the circumstance of their appearing together alone in the Paris edition of 1520, make it certain that the *Quæstiones in Genesim* and the *Therapeutæ* were latinised by one and the same hand. The Basle edition of 1527 is printed from at least two MSS., one lent to Sichardus by the convent of Fulda, the other found in the monastery of Lorch, near Heidelberg. The latter was a *pervetustum exemplar*, yet—so the editor alleges—no less unsatisfactory and full of corruptions than the *commodum illud Fuldense*. Sichardus prints marginally the variations of the Codex Laurissanus, as he calls it, for he despairs of reconciling them with those of the Fuldensis. He is quite unaware that there already existed a Paris edition of the work, and ends his preface by hoping that some day there may appear an edition of these *Quæstiones* which will be, if not more complete, at any rate more

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emended. The Paris edition is not indeed more emended, but the variant readings which it gives in nearly every line supplement the Basle edition, so that the two together afford a very fair text. The Basle edition was twice reprinted in the sixteenth century, and again at San Lazaro in 1836, in Aucher's edition of these *Quæstiones* in their ancient Armenian form.

From the fact that the Latin of the *Therapeutæ* implies readings found in no Greek codex, though also implied in the Armenian version, I had concluded that it could not be much later in origin than the fifth century. As a further test I compared the *titulos allegoriæ*, i.e. the texts from the Bible quoted in the several *quæstiones*, with the Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome, for it was to be expected that the translator would render the original Greek into the particular Latin form with which he was already familiar. I was at once struck by their difference from the Hieronymian text. The detailed comparison of them with the corresponding text of Sabatier—the so called Itala Versio—and, wherever it serves, with the Versio Lugdunensis as edited by M. Ulysses Robert, shows that in these *Quæstiones* we have, extending over three successive chapters of Genesis, the record of a pre-Hieronymian version of the Bible.

Although Sabatier aimed at restoring the famous Versio Itala, there is nothing to prove that the biblical text which with untiring industry he compiled from citations found in the old Latin Fathers represents a single continuous text and translation. Each Father must have used the version current in his country and Church, and of two verses which jostle one another in Sabatier, one may belong to a version current in Mauritania in the third, the other to a version current in North Italy in the fourth century. A special interest therefore attaches to the shreds of an old version contained in these *Quæstiones*; for we may be sure

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that they, one and all, are drawn from the same version, nor are they a century of quotations spread here and there over a wide tract of the Bible, but a fairly continuous text running from Genesis xxv. 20 to xxviii. 8.

In the following tables the *quæstio* containing the old version is given in the first column; in the second, the so called Itala Versio of Sabatier. The marginal references of Sabatier's text, indicating his authority, are for sake of brevity not given; but where in his notes he gives another citation of a text agreeing more with the *quæstio* than what he has embodied in his *versio antiqua*, I have copied out that other citation. In the third column I have given St. Jerome's Vulgate.

There are frequent discrepancies between the Basle and the Paris editions of these *Quæstiones*. I have chosen the Paris edition as the main text, but have supplied all variants of the Basle text. The latter are either mentioned separately and after the Paris text, or supplied within it, only between brackets. And as the differences of the Basle text may consist of (1) additions to, (2) omissions from, or (3) actual variation of words, (1) I have given the additions simply in brackets: *e.g.* in Qu. xxv, "inhabita (in) quam tibi dixero (terram)" implies that the words *in* and *terram* are added in Basle text, and are not in Paris text; (2) the omissions of the Basle text are also in brackets, but are prefaced by word "omit," so that there can be no ambiguity; (3) those words in the Paris text are italicised which in the Basle text have their place taken by others, and those others which take their place are added between brackets: *e.g.* in Qu. ii., "*Ad* (ut) quid," etc., means that *ut quid*, and not *ad quid*, is read in Basle or B. text.

In column two, from Qu. li. onwards, is quoted, after and in addition to the so called Itala Versio, the Versio Lugdunensis, as edited by M. Ul. Robert. Letters which

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in his text lie between brackets are his supplement of lacunas in the Lyons MS. For the earlier *quæstiones* the Versio Lugdunensis is deficient.

This arrangement gives at a glance what the old version of the Latin Bible preserved in these *Quæstiones* has in common, firstly, with the so called Itala of Sabatier, or with other testimonies cited in his notes; secondly, with the Versio Lugdunensis, wherever it serves; thirdly, with the Vulgata Nova as quoted in Sabatier. The version used by the translator of these *Quæstiones* seems to have differed little from versions which Ambrose and Augustine had in their hands, and to have differed still less from the Versio Lugdunensis. The following are some striking points of agreement with the Versio Lugdunensis: use of neuter form for masculine, e.g. *putea* for *puteus putei* (cp. Robert, *Prolegomena*, p. lxii); use of genitive in phrases like *sexaginta annorum* (Robert, *Prolegomena*, lxxx); *incolaveritis*, perhaps for *incola eritis* (cp. *variaverit* for *varia erit* (U. Robert, *Prolegomena*, lxxxvii), *in terram inhabita in quam tibi dixero* (cp. Robert, *Prolegomena*); use of *desusum* (Robert, *Prolegomena*, lxxv); *præ=præter* (cp. Versio Lugdunensis, Gen. xlvii. 22).

There is a close resemblance in Genesis xxvii. 28, 29 to the version used by Cyprian in this passage, but not enough perhaps to prove that the version used by the translator of the *Quæstiones* was as old as Cyprian. It is a tempting inference that this version of the *Quæstiones* goes back to his date, for that would prove that the treatise on the *Therapeutæ* which accompanies them was known and latinised in the first half of the third century. The data however do not prove such a conclusion, though they favour it. The mention of the *Apollinaristæ* interpolated in the Latin text may be due to a copyist, and not to the *interpres*.

One negative argument against the value of these frag-

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ment remains to be noticed. Why, it may be asked, should they be regarded as drawn from a current version of the Bible at all, and not rather as a fresh and original version made *pro hac vice* by the translator of the *Quæstiones*? The answer is, that the numerous points of agreement between these fragments, on the one hand, and either the Itala or the Lugdunensis Versio, on the other, preclude any such a belief, which is moreover opposed to all likelihood. It is more probable that the fragments here preserved belong, even where they differ from Sabatier's quotations and from the Versio Lugdunensis alike, to an established text current and familiar in the translator's Church and country.

The text of these *Quæstiones* has been here and there adapted to the Vulgate, and we sometimes get in one edition the adapted text, in the other edition the unadapted text. For example, in Qu. lxxvii., the Basle text has *benedictionibus repleatur* of the Vulgate, and the Paris text *benedictus* of the so called Itala Versio. But it is not always a safe inference that a pre-Hieronymian text has been adapted to the Vulgate because it agrees therewith; for the Vulgate may itself repeat an older version, especially in the case of well known and striking sayings, which the ears of a congregation being familiar with in one Latin dress would not easily tolerate in another. Englishmen are well aware of the prejudices roused by a Revised Version, and in the Armenian and Russian Churches no revision of the text read in the churches could be effected on account of popular dislike of innovation in such matters.

These *Quæstiones* show marked differences in many verses from the so called Itala and the Lugdunensis alike: e.g. *dispergentur* in Qu. iv., *primogenitus* in Qu. vii., *spaciositas* in Qu. xliii., *emolles et optimos* in Qu. lviii., *in conspectu meo* in Qu. lxvi., answering to ἐναντίον μου, just as ἔναντι τῆς σκηνῆς is rendered *in conspectu tabernaculi* in Versio Lugdunensis, Numeri viii. 9.

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I have not heard of any MS. of these *CII. Quæstiones*, except perhaps in the Vatican. There is no reason why this old Latin version of Philo's *Quæstiones* should only begin at Genesis xxv. 20, for the Armenian Version begins at the beginning of Genesis. Moreover the author of this old Latin version or a copyist distinctly implies, in a note which has been worked into the text of the *Solutio* of Qu. ii., that his version included much more of the *Quæstiones*. The passage referred to has not of course its equivalent in the Armenian, and runs thus: "Iam pervide quanta est unitas in mathematico tractu, et hic in prioribus translatis libris ex aperto dicente Philone," etc. If the Latin version of these earlier books could be found, it would contain much more of the old Latin version of the Old Testament which the translator used. Perhaps the Vatican MS. may contain this additional matter. In any case the old Latin version is not likely to give Philo's commentary beyond Genesis xxviii. 9; for the Armenian version also ends abruptly at this point, as Aucher, the Armenian editor, points out in his note *ad locum*: "Utinam adiecisset interpres, quare ipse prætermiserit residuas auctoris quæstiones solutionesque: an vix invenerit opus integrum in codice Græco, an sibi placuerit omittere multa et pauca quædam proponere Latinis; maxime, quo seculo id compilaverit."

If this old version of the *Quæstiones* of Philo was made in Africa, its date may be later than the diffusion of St. Jerome's Vulgate in Europe; for we know that in Africa the old Latin versions of the Bible held their own for some time later. If it was made in Italy, I should be inclined to ascribe it to the age of St. Ambrose, if not to St. Ambrose himself, to whose language, as Aucher points out, many phrases in it bear close resemblance, and who was besides a close student of these Philonean commentaries on Genesis.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
I.		GEN. XXV. 20.
QUARE quadraginta annorum erat Isaac cum nupsisset ei Rebecca? (B. omits *ei*, and reads *Rebeccam*.)	*In Sabatier.*	QUI cum quadraginta esset annorum duxit uxorem Rebeccam.
II.	GEN. XXV. 22.	GEN. XXV. 22.
Ad (ut) quid Rebecca ait: si sic futurum est mihi, ad quid mihi hoc?	. . . Si sic mihi futurum erat, ut quid mihi hoc?	Si sic mihi futurum erat, quid necesse fuit concipere?
III.	GEN. XXV. 22.	GEN. XXV. 22.
Quid est: perrexit interrogare a domino? (*Solutio* begins: Eloquium Dei, etc. These two words are in Basle edition thrown into *quæstio*; by mistake, as is proved by Armenian version, which agrees with Paris text.)	Abiit autem Isaac cum ea interrogare Dominum.	Perrexitque ut consuleret Dominum.
IV.	GEN. XXV. 23.	GEN. XXV. 23.
Ad quid *interrogans* ea audivit: duæ gentes in utero tuo sunt: et duo populi ex utero tuo dispergentur, et populus populum superabit: *et* maior seruiet minori? (In Basle edition: *Ut quid interrogante* [in marg. *perrogante*] *ea audivit*, etc.; and below, *ut maior*.)	Et dixit dominus Rebeccæ: duæ gentes in utero tuo sunt, et duo populi de ventre tuo dividentur, et populus populum superabit, et maior serviet minori.	Qui respondens ait: duæ gentes sunt in utero tuo, et duo populi ex ventre tuo dividentur, populusque populum superabit, et maior serviet minori.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
V. Quare dixit: Completi sunt dies eius ut pareret?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 24. Iam tempus pariendi advenerat.
VI. Quid est: erant gemini in utero eius?	GEN. XXV. 24. Et ei erant gemini in utero eius.	GEN. XXV. 24. Et ecce gemini in utero eius reperti sunt.
VII. *Ad* (ut) quid primogenitus totus rubens et pilosus ut (Basle adds *et*) pellis.	GEN. XXV. 25. Et egressus est primus rubens, totus sicut pellis pilosus.	GEN. XXV. 25. Qui prior egressus est, rufus erat et totus in morem pellis hispidus.
VIII. Quare nomen illi ponitur Esau, qui interpretatur *fictura* (factura) vel rubor?		GEN. XXV. 25. Vocatumque est nomen eius Esau.
IX. Quare dixit, Post hoc exivit frater eius?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 25. Protinus alter egrediens.
X. *Ad* (ut) quid manus secundi apprehenderat calcaneum alterius?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 25. Plantam fratris tenebat manu.
XI. Quare sexagintaannorum dicitur genera sse Isaac?	(*Itala deest.*) Cf. August., Qu. 122 in Gen., to. 3, col. 408a: "Genuit eos Isaac cum esset annorum sexaginta."	GEN. XXV. 26. Sexagenarius erat Isaac quando nati sunt ei parvuli.
XII. Quare Esau venator et ruralis: Iacob vero simplex per innocentiam inhabitans domum et tabernacula? (Basle: Quare Esau venatoret ruralis, Iacob vero simpliciter, per innocentiam habitans domum.)	GEN. XXV. 27. Erat Esau homo sciens venari, agrestis: Iacob autem homo simplex, habitans domum.	GEN. XXV. 27. Factus est Esau vir gnarus venandi, et homo agricola: Iacob autem vir simplex habitabat in tabernaculis.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XIII. Quare dixit Isaac delexisse Esau: Rebecca vero diligebat Iacob.		GEN. XXV. 28. Isaac amabat Esau . . . et Rebecca diligebat Iacob.
XIV. Quare unus a patre pro causa venationis diligatur: mater vero secundum diligat, sine illius causa? (Basle ed.: Quare ab uno pro causa venationis diligebatur Mater vero sine causa?)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 28. Isaac amabat Esau eo quod de venationibus illius vesceretur, et Rebecca diligebat Iacob.
XV. Quid est dictum: coxit Iacob cocturam?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 29. Coxit autem Iacob pulmentum.
XVI. Quare dictum est: venit Esau de campo deficiens?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 29. Cum venisset Esau de agro lassus.
XVII. Quare ait: gustemus de hac coctura quia deficio?	GEN. XXV. 30. Dixit Esau Iacob: da mihi gustum de coctione rubea ista, quia deficio.	GEN. XXV. 30. Ait: da mihi de coctione hac rufa, quia oppido lassus sum.
XVIII. Quare vocatum est nomen eius Edom, quod translatum latine (Græce) dicitur rutilum sive terrenum?	GEN. XXV. 30. Propterea vocatum est nomen eius Edom.	GEN. XXV. 30. Quam ob causam vocatum est nomen eius Edom.
XIX. Quare dixit: vende primitias tuas mihi hodie? (Basle omits *hodie*, but reads *hoc* in place of it at beginning of *Solutio*.)	GEN. XXV. 31. Vende mihi hodie primogenita tua mihi.	GEN. XXV. 31. Vende mihi primogenita tua.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XX. Quare ita respondit, Ecce ego pergam mori: et (B. adds *ad*) quid mihi primitiæ istæ?	GEN. XXV. 32. Ut quid mihi primatus?	GEN. XXV. 32. Ille respondit: En morior, quid mihi proderunt primogenita?
XXI. Quid est: deprauauit Esau primitias (B. adds *suas*)?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 34. Parvi pendens quod primogenita vendidisset.
XXII. Quare sit fames super terram (præ famem ante factam temporibus Abraham)?	GEN. XXVI. 1. Facta est autem fames super terram, præter famem quæ prius facta est in tempore Abrahæ. Sabatier notes that August. elsewhere quotes, using *ante* instead of *prius*.	GEN. XXVI. 1. Orta autem fame super terram, post eam sterilitatem quæ acciderat in diebus Abraham.
XXIII. Quid est: perrexit (Isaac) ad Abimelech regem *Phylistiim* (Philistim) in Gerara?	GEN. XXVI. 1. Abiit Isaac ad Abimelech regem Philistinorum in Gerara.	GEN. XXVI. 1. Abiit Isaac ad Abimelech regem Palæstinorum in Gerara.
XXIV. Quare ait *ei* (illi) eloquium divinum: ne descendas in Ægyptum?	GEN. XXVI. 2. Apparuit autem illi Dominus, et dixit: Noli descendere in Ægyptum.	GEN. XXVI. 2. Apparuitque ei Dominus, et ait: ne descendas in Ægyptum.
XXV. *Ad* (ut) quid dixit illi: Inhabita (in) quam tibi dixero (terram). Esto autem incola in hac terra?	GEN. XXVI. 2, 3. Habita autem in terra, quam tibi dixero. Et incole in terra hac.	GEN. XXVI. 2, 3. Sed quiesce in terra, quam dixero tibi. Et peregrinare in ea.
XXVI. Quid est: Ero tecum, et benedicam te? (Basle ed.: Quid est ergo: tecum ero, et benedicam te?)	GEN. XXVI. 3. Et ero tecum, et benedicam te.	GEN. XXVI. 3. Eroque tecum, et benedicam tibi.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XXVII.	GEN. XXVI. 3.	GEN. XXVI. 3.
Quid est: constituam iuramentum meum, quod iuravi patri tuo?	Statuam iuramentum meum quod iuravi Abrahæ patri tuo.	Complens iuramentum quod spopondi Abraham patri tuo.
XXVIII.	GEN. XXVI. 4.	GEN. XXVI. 4.
Quid est: multiplicabo semen tuum, sicut stellas cæli?	Et multiplicabo semen tuum tanquam stellas cæli. For *tanquam* is read *sicut* in Tichon., reg. 3, col. 54 d.	Et multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas cæli.
XXIX.	GEN. XXVI. 4.	GEN. XXVI. 4.
Quid est: dabo semini tuo omnem terram istam?	Et dabo semini tuo omnem terram hanc.	Daboque posteris tuis universas regiones has.
XXX.	GEN. XXVI. 4.	GEN. XXVI. 4.
Quid est: benedicentur in *semine* (nomine) tuo omnes gentes terræ?	Et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terræ. Sabatier notes as follows: "In collat. Carthag., col. 392 a, . . . pro in semine, legitur, in nomine."	Et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terræ.
XXXI.	GEN. XXVI. 5.	GEN. XXVI. 5.
Quare dixit: pro eo quod audivit pater tuus, et custodivit præcepta mea, et mandata mea, et justificationes meas?	Pro eo quod obaudivit Abraham pater tuus vocem meam et custodivit præcepta mea et mandata mea et iustificationes meas et legitima mea.	Eo quod obedierit Abraham voci meæ et custodierit præcepta et mandata mea et ceremonias legesque servaverit.
XXXII.	GEN. XXVI. 3.	GEN. XXVI. 3.
Quare dixit: Incola vetus ac incola rarus?	Et incole in terra hac.	Et peregrinare in ea.
(Basle ed.: Quare dixit: incolaueritis, ac incola Gerara?)	GEN. XXVI. 6. (*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 6. Mansit itaque in Geraris.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XXXIII. Qui sunt illi viri quos scriptura meminit ?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 7. Qui cum interrogaretur a viris loci illius.
XXXIV. Quid est: factum est longius illic incolaret, etc. ? (Basle ed.: Quid est: factus est longævus illic ? *Sol.*, incolare . . .)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 8. Cumque pertransissent dies plurimi et ibidem moraretur.
XXXV. Cuiusmodi ludus videtur quem perspiciens Abimelech de fenestra vidit Ysaac ludentem cum uxore sua Rebecca. (Basle edition has *lusus* and *Isaac.*)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 8. Prospiciens Abimelech rex Palæstinorum per fenestram, vidit eum iocantem cum Rebecca uxore sua.
XXXVI. Quid est: seminavit in illo anno et invenit centenarium hordeum ?	GEN. XXVI. 12. Seminavit autem Isaac in terra illa, et invenit in anno illo centuplum hordei.	GEN. XXVI. 12. Sevit autem Isaac in terra illa, et invenit in ipso anno centuplum.
XXXVII. Quid est: proficiens, maior fiebat, quousque factus est magnus valde ? (Basle ed.: Quid est: procedens maior fiebat, quousque maior factus est valde ?)	GEN. XXVI. 13. Et procedens maior fiebat, quoad usque magnus factus est valde.	GEN. XXVI. 13. Et ibat proficiens atque succrescens, donec magnus vehementer effectus est.
XXXVIII. *Ad* (ut) quid: hæc quæ foderunt pueri patris eius, dissipantes obstruunt Phylistiim (Philistenses) ?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXXVI. 14, 15. Palæstini omnes puteos, quos foderant servi patris illius Abraham, illo tempore obstruxerunt implentes humo.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XXXIX. Quare Abimelech dixit ad Isaac, *Recede* (Perge) a nobis: quia *potentior* (possibilior nobis) factus es *valde*? (B. omits *valde*.)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXXVI. 16. In tantum, ut ipse Abimelech diceret ad Isaac: recede a nobis, quoniam potentior nobis factus es valde.
XL. Ad quid obstrusos puteos rursus effodit? (Basle ed.: Ut quid obstrusa putea rursus effodit?)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 18. Rursum fodit alios puteos, . . . quos olim obstruxerant Philisthiim.
XLI. *Ad* (ut) quid eadem vocabula posuit puteis quæ etiam *prius erant eis*? (B. reads *præter eius* where Aucher suggests *pater eius*.)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 18. Appellavitque eos eisdem nominibus quibus ante pater vocaverat.
XLII. *Ad* (ut) quid in valle Geraræ putei esse dicuntur?	GEN. XXVI. 19. Et foderunt pueri Isaac in valle Gerarum, et invenerunt ibi puteum aquæ vivæ.	GEN. XXVI. 19. Foderuntque in Torrente, et reperierunt aquam vivam.
XLIII. Quare in primo dimicatur: in secundo iudicatur: in tertio cessant? *Sol.*: Ex primo notatur iniuria: secundo inimicitia: tertio speciositas. (Basle ed.: Quare in primo dimicantur, secundo iudicantur, in tertio cessant? Et primum vocatur	GEN. XXVI. 20–22. Et litem fecerunt pastores Gerarum cum pastoribus Isaac: . . . et vocavit nomen eius, Injustitiam . . . Et foderunt puteum alterum: et altercati sunt etiam super eo, et vocavit nomen eius, Inimicitiæ . . . et foderunt puteum alium, et non liti-	GEN. XXVI. 20–22. Sed et ibi jurgium fuit pastorum Geraræ adversus pastores Isaac, dicentium: nostra est aqua: quam ob rem nomen putei, ex quo quod acciderat, vocavit Calumniam. Foderunt autem et alium: et pro illo quoque rixati sunt, appellavit-

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
iniuria, secundum inimicitia, tertium spaciositas?)	gavertunt cum eis, et vocavit nomen eius Latitudo.	que eum, Inimicitias. Profecto inde fodit alium puteum, pro quo non contenderunt: itaque vocavit nomen eius, Latitudo.
XLIV. Quid est: ascendit inde ad puteum sed *suspensus*[1] (suspensum)?	GEN. XXVI. 23. Ascendit autem inde ad puteum Iuramenti.	GEN. XXVI. 23. Ascendit autem ex illo loco in Bersabee.
XLV. *Ad* (ut) quid in nocte Dominus *visitat eum* (uisitatur): et ait, Ego sum Deus patris tui: ne timeas: tecum enim sum.	GEN. XXVI. 24. Et visus est ei Dominus in illa nocte, et dixit ei: Ego sum deus Abraham patris tui, ne timeas, tecum enim sum.	GEN. XXVI. 24. Ubi apparuit ei Dominus in ipsa nocte, dicens: Ego sum deus Abraham patris tui, noli timere, quia ego tecum sum.
XLVI. Quare dominus *visitans* (uisitatus) ostendit semetipsum deum?	*See* GEN. XXVI. 24, *as above.*	
XLVII. Quare dicendo: Benedixi te, adiecit. Et multiplicabo semen tuum propter patrem tuum?	GEN. XXVI. 24. Et benedicam te et multiplicabo semen tuum propter Abraham patrem tuum. Sabatier notes that August., *De Civit. Dei*, c. 36, reads *benedixi* instead of *benedicam.*	GEN. XXVI. 24. Benedicam tibi, et multiplicabo semen tuum propter servum meum Abraham.
XLVIII. Quare ædificando illic *altare* (altarium),	GEN. XXVI. 25. Et ædificavit ibi Isaac altare, et invo-	GEN. XXVI. 25. Itaque ædificavit ibi altare: et invocato

[1] Here the *Solutio* implies *juramenti*; for it runs thus: "Puteus enim iuramenti filia septima est quod Hebraice legitur Bersabace Berfilia Sabeæ septima." Which words however seem to be translator's and not Philo's.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
non obtulit sacrificium: sed invocato nomine Domini fixit tabernaculum suum?	cavit in nomine domini.	nomine Domini, extendit tabernaculum.
XLIX. Quare post quartam putei fossuram a pueris factam *exit* (exiit) Abimelech ad *deum* (eum), et Ochozath (Acho [Achoza]) thalami præpositus: et Phicol princeps militiæ.	GEN. XXVI. 26. Et Abimelech ivit ad eum de Geraris, et Ochozath pronubus eius, et Phicol princeps militiæ ejus.	GEN. XXVI. 26. Ad quem locum cum venissent de Geraris, Abimelech, et Ochozath amicus illius, et Phicol dux militum.
L. Quare dicentibus et nunc benedictus a Domino; (B. omits semicolon) facit cænam et manducaverunt et biberunt?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 29, 30. Sed cum pace dimisimus auctum benedictione Domini. Fecit ergo eis convivium, et post cibum et potum.
LI. Quare pergentibus pueris *Ysaac* (Isaac) venientes qui quartum puteum foderunt dixerunt *se* (B. omits *se*) non invenisse aquam?	GEN. XXVI. 32. Et venerunt pueri Isaac, et nunciaverunt ei de puteo quem foderunt et dixerunt ei: non invenimus aquam.	GEN. XXVI. 32. Ecce autem venerunt in ipso die servi Isaac, annunciantes ei de puteo quem foderant, atque dicentes: Invenimus aquam.
LI. *Sol.* Quod et iuramentum vocat et civitatem puteum iuramenti . . .	GEN. XXVI. 33. Et vocavit nomen eius iuramentum. Vers. Lugd.: Propter hoc nomen est civitatis illius puteus juramenti usque in hodiernum diem.	GEN. XXVI. 33. Inde appellavit eum, abundantiam: et urbi nomen impositum est Bersabee usque in præsentem diem.
LII. Quare Esau quadragenarius accepit uxorem Iudith filiam	GEN. XXVI. 34. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Et erat autem Esau	GEN. XXVI. 34. Esau vero quadragenarius duxit uxores, Iudith filiam Beeri

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
Beher et Barhanath filiam Helomeuei ? (Basle ed.: Quare E. qu. a. u. l. f. Beher Cetthei et Barhatnath filiam Elom Heuæi ?)	annorum XL et accepit uxorem Iudin, filiam Beiher Caethei, et Bassemat, filiam Elon Euchei.	Hethæi, et Basemath filiam Elon ejusdem loci.
LIII. Quare has ipsas dixit contendere *Ysaac* (Isaac) et Rebeccæ ?	GEN. XXVI. 35. (*Itala deest.*) Vèrs. Lugd.: Et erant contendentes haec duae aduersus Isac et Rebeccam.	GEN. XXVI. 35. Quæ ambæ offenderant animum Isaac et Rebeccæ.
LIV. Quid est: postquam senuit Ysaac caligaverunt oculi eius ad videndum ? (Basle ed.: Quid est: postquam senuit Isaac caligati sunt oculi eius ? *Sol.*: Ad videndum, etc. So Arm. Vers.).	GEN. XXVII. 1. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Postquam senuit Isaac obducti sunt oculi eius, et nihil videbat.	GEN. XXVII. 1. Senuit autem Isaac, et caligaverunt oculi eius et videre non poterat.
LV. Quare dixit maiori filio: accipe (B. adds *uas tuum*) pharetram et arcum ?	GEN. XXVII. 1–3. Et vocavit filium suum seniorem Esau, et dixit, . . . Nunc ergo sume vas tuum, pharetramque et arcum. Vers. Lugd.: Et uocavit Esau filium suum maiorem natu, et dixit ei . . . nunc ergo sume uasum tuum, pharetram et arcum.	GEN. XXVII. 1–3. Vocavitque Esau filium suum maiorem, et dixit ei . . . sume arma tua, pharetram et arcum.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
LVI.	GEN. XXVII. 3, 4.	GEN. XXVII. 3, 4.
Quid est: cape mihi venationem: (B. adds *et*) fac mihi epulas sicut amo: et affer mihi ut manducem: quatenus benedicat te anima mea antequam moriar?	Venare mihi venationem. Vers. Lugd.: Venare mihi venationem: et fac mihi escas, sicut amo ego, et adfers mihi ut manducem, et benedicat te anima mea, priusquam moriar.	Cumque venatu aliquid apprehenderis fac mihi inde pulmentum sicut velle me nosti, et affer ut comedam: et benedicat tibi anima mea antequam moriar.
LVII.	GEN. XXVII. 6.	GEN. XXVII. 6.
Ad (ut) quid Rebecca his auditis ait ad Iacob filium suum: audivi patrem tuum loquentem ad Esau fratrem tuum.	(*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Rebecca autem dixit ad Iacob filium suum minorem: ecce ego audivi patrem tuum loquentem ad Esau fratrem tuum.	Dixit filio suo Iacob: audivi patrem tuum loquentem cum Esau fratre tuo.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

(*To be concluded.*)

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INTERPRETATION OF THE LIFE OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

THE great claim which modern biblical criticism makes for itself is that it has made the early history of the Christian Church live once more before our eyes. By means of an "improved translation" it has got to the heart of the biblical writers; it has shown us that the men and women of the Bible are of flesh and blood, that they had ideas, passions, politics, theories of life and of the universe; and so we are told that, thanks to this improved translation, "the past woke up, lived and moved, and what it said came to you with a new accent, the accent of truth."[1]

The slightest acquaintance with modern accounts of the life of our Lord or of the early history of the Church, or with modern commentaries, is sufficient to show that to a considerable extent this claim is justifiable. In two points at least these writings contrast favourably with the works of previous generations, in philological exactness and in historical vividness. The relations of Hellenistic Greek have been more exactly determined, the life-history of each word traced, the peculiarities of each writer classified, every detail of every sentence placed in the balance and weighed.. No doubt the process is often wearying; the *débris* left by previous commentators has to be cleared away before the exact lines of the foundations which have to be reconstructed can be seen; but in the end the patient student feels that he has been safely guided past false clues that might have led him astray, and that he now does see

[1] Mrs. Humphrey Ward, in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1889, p. 457.

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what those foundations really imply. To vary the metaphor—the Alpine climber, as he makes his way through the thick rows of pine trees in some frequented part, is a little annoyed at the number of sign-posts which will not leave him to find out his own way for himself; but when, following their guidance, he has reached the top, and the whole expanse of country lies before him, such that it could only be seen from that one point alone, he is grateful that he has not been allowed to diverge on any of the many side-paths, which seemed so clearly right at the moment, and yet which would have lost him the completeness of the view.

Again, exact verbal statistics have been collected. These have revealed to us in the synoptic gospels the existence in some form or other of previous materials used by the writers, and so have thereby strengthened the evidence for the early date and historical trustworthiness of the central core of the gospel narrative: they have revealed to us an amount of verbal differences between the various groups of St. Paul's epistles: now these can be no accidents, there must be real and living facts to account for them; and thus, alike to those who have accepted and to those who have denied the Pauline authorship, the real meaning of the epistles, and the circumstances of the moment which prompted each have grown more clear and vivid. Perhaps no better instance could be given of the way in which this careful verbal study leads into the very heart of a writer's meaning than Pfleiderer's study of the Epistle to the Ephesians,[1] in which he rejects indeed the Pauline authorship, yet expounds the central truth in a way most helpful to those who accept that authorship.

Side by side with this philological exactness stands the greater historical vividness. Modern criticism has not only weighed and distinguished words, it has weighed and distinguished character and individuality. It insists that

[1] *Paulinismus*, ii., p. 162.

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every actor in the drama shall be a living human being, with his own distinct life. Within the Church the more rigid conservative element of the Jewish Christians, "all zealous for the law," stands out in clear contrast to the eager, innovating champions of liberty, the Gentile Christians. Within the circle of the apostles, the characters of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John, and, in a less degree, St. James, are stamped with such strong features, that no one could confuse their utterances or possibly mistake the epistle of any one of them for the work of any of the others; there are clearly marked varieties in their teaching; there is a real and true Paulinism which, in its recognition of the elements of true religion in the Gentile world, in its demand for a rational dogmatic expression of the universal significance of the life and death of the Lord, in its clear conception of the subordination of the individual to the whole body of the Church, stands apart from the teaching of the other apostles, and yet is, no less than theirs, a real presentation of the truth as it is in Jesus, and capable, without undue strain or violence, of being combined with them in a higher synthesis.

These are clear and invaluable gains; yet, while ungrudgingly welcoming them, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that much of such criticism is vitiated by a narrow conception of life, and falls short of being a full and adequate presentation of the richness of the spiritual life which was so striking a characteristic of the early Church. Philologists have been sometimes criticized for discussing only the features of language, to the almost total neglect of the life of language. The same danger is possible, and far more serious, in dealing with literary and spiritual phenomena. One student never gets behind the philological interest of a book; another is absorbed in its literary interest: but few reach to the living human soul, with its hopes and fears. Of these few, some form their conception of life entirely in

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the study and through literary spectacles, without contact with its hard realities. All such are doomed to comparative failure. "To feel and honour a great character in his works, it is necessary for the critic himself to be a somebody, to have a character of his own." These are Goethe's words. "He who would interpret the work of a master must summon up all his powers and must be *alive* at as many points as possible." These are the words of one of our best living critics.[1] If these are true, the qualities needed for a real appreciation of the great moving forces of the world must be higher, severer, rarer than is often supposed.

Two points may be singled out in which a purely literary criticism has ignored the facts of life. It has at times ignored the weaknesses of human life and character; at other times its many-sidedness. Due allowance is often not made for weakness; a traditional belief in the verbal inspiration of the documents or in the infallibility of a Christian saint is often made the groundwork of a critical attack by those whose reason has rejected both the one and the other. If a book of the Bible is to be treated as any other book, it must be so treated honestly; the same kind of evidence for facts must be regarded as adequate as would be in dealing with a pagan historian. But this is often not done. Differences in minor details which are not greater than those in Herodotus, Æschylus, Thucydides, and Demosthenes, or even in different parts of Herodotus himself, about the number of ships engaged in the battle of Salamis, are held sufficient to discredit the historical character of the gospels; or again inconsistencies in an apostle are treated as fatal to historic truth. For instance, St. Peter refuses to eat with Gentile Christians at Antioch; consequently, the accounts in the Acts of the Apostles that he ate with Cornelius and that he supported the compromise

[1] Prof. Dowden, *Transcripts and Studies*, "The Interpretation of Literature," an essay well worth the study of a student of the Bible.

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at the Council of Jerusalem are treated as inaccurate. The answer is particularly easy in this case, as St. Paul himself represents St. Peter as inconsistent with his own principles; but even were this not so, what ignorance of life is implied in the criticism! What large portions of nineteenth century history will have to be proved unreal, how many speeches to be rejected as unauthentic, if the possible inconsistency of a statesman is not taken into account as a factor in history!

But more often does this literary criticism show itself blind to the many-sidedness of a great personality or of a great truth. The criticism which would limit St. Paul's genuine writings to the four epistles of the third missionary journey rests upon no external evidence whatever. It is based mainly on the postulate that, given a teacher with striking features of character and of style exhibited vividly in one great conflict of his life, it follows that he is to be always living on that level and in that mood. St. Paul is thus limited to one set of experiences and expressions; he is the champion of justification by faith, the eager controversialist against the Judaizers—that and nothing else. Yet contrast with such a limitation the variety of style and of character revealed even within this group of epistles. Within the four corners of one epistle, what a change of vocabulary, of structure, of tone is to be seen in the central section of 2 Corinthians as compared with the earlier and later sections! or, to extend our view to the whole group, what a change from the broken, halting sentences of Galatians ii. to the irregular, manual-like jottings of Romans xii., or the clear, terse, almost rhythmical lyrics of the psalm of the love of man in 1 Corinthians xiii., or that of the love of Christ in Romans viii.! And as we pass to his character —how are we to fix and fasten such a restless, flashing, varying, many-coloured kaleidoscope? At one moment the active, undaunted missionary, checked by no perils of land

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or sea, not ashamed to preach the gospel even in Rome; at another speaking with fear and trembling before a few believers, neither wise nor noble nor mighty, in Corinth: thrilling now with the note of triumph, now with the cry of despair: the shrewd, practical, worldly-wise director, who arranges the details of the women's head-dress and of the collection for the saints; yet in a moment is speaking with tongues more than they all, whether in the body or out of the body he knows not, the seer of revelations and visions of the Lord: boasting of all his national privileges, and pouring contempt on every boast: placing himself before his converts as the object of their imitation—himself who can do nothing, nay, who cannot do that which he wills, and does that which he hates: yearning for his converts with the strange pangs of a mother for her unborn child, and yet pouring out upon them the flood of his irony and sarcasm: quick to punish and hand over to Satan; as quickly melting to forgiveness: ready to be anathema from Christ Jesus for his brethren's sake, and yet himself anathematizing all who love not the Lord Jesus: the opponent of the law, who yet establishes the law: the champion of freewill, who does not shrink from the strongest assertions of predestination: the assertor of the personal responsibility of each individual to God, and of his absolute dependence upon the whole body.

Such a style and such a character will surely leave room for the affectionate tenderness and simplicity of the Thessalonian or Philippian letters; for the eucharistic majesty and insistence on Church unity of the so called letter to Ephesus; for the vigorous polemic, the wide-soaring, eagle gaze of the Colossian letter; for the personal affection and practical wisdom of the pastoral group. A similar criticism applied to the three great controversies of St. Augustine's life would eliminate two of them in favour of a third; and yet a greater than Augustine is here.

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So to take one instance of the many-sidedness of truth, of the need of being *alive* at all points to deal with it. Place the Epistle of St. James side by side with that to the Romans; treat them by verbal literary tests: it seems almost impossible to resist the conclusion that they not only contradict each other, but that one writer is consciously contradicting the other. But add to the mere verbal test the historical surroundings; realize how this question of the relation of faith to works was a common theme, alike in rabbinical and Alexandrine discussions; and it will appear at least possible that the two writers should have treated of the same theme, and used the same illustrations, each in perfect independence of the other.

Yes, but even if they are not consciously antagonistic, are they not irreconcilable? To answer this we must pierce deeper still, behind the historical circumstances into the realities of spiritual life. Realize, on the one hand, the danger which besets every orthodox believer of resting on an empty profession of faith; on the other hand, the danger which besets the active, consistent Christian of self-complacency, of looking to himself rather than to God as the source of his strength. Combine the prophet's demand for reality in religion with the theologian's insight into the value of the true motives of action and his jealousy for God, and the difficulty vanishes. It is only the student, not the preacher, not the parish priest, not the director of consciences, who finds it difficult to reconcile the teaching of St. Paul with that of St. James.

The critic whose interpretation is to be complete must therefore give us an "improved translation" which shall interpret literary, historical, and spiritual facts. Like Elijah, he must stretch himself three times upon the child ere it will revive. But when we try to reach to the deepest of all these facts, the spiritual life, we are met by a real difficulty. Such facts very often are scarcely mentioned

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in the historian, much more do they escape discussion in incidental and controversial documents like the epistles. They lie so deep that their existence is presupposed. It is as true of these deep principles of life as it is of doctrine, that "their importance is likely to be in the inverse ratio of the number of passages in which they are directly taught."[1] The historian is often more occupied with the external relations of his country than with the secret forces of national life; and the Christian Church jealously guarded its deepest secrets from the rude gaze of the outside world. Yet we cannot be wrong in emphasising two of these spiritual factors, which have often been strangely ignored or minimised.

I. The first is the strength of the sense of brotherhood implied in the existence of the Church. It is obviously true that the first outburst of the spiritual life tended to intensify individuality: the gifts of the Spirit, the sense of the indwelling presence of God making each man partaker of the Divine nature, the consciousness of intimate intercourse in prayer between the Christian and his Lord, all tended in this way. The Church from the first was the meeting-place of strong individualities; but from the first it was also their home, their family, controlling them with the discipline of love. Each individual was made to feel that he was the member of a body, bound to consider the rights and feelings of the other members, bound to use his own gifts to profit withal. The reality of the struggle between Jewish and Gentile Christians, the reality of the differences of character and of teaching between the apostles, imply that behind the struggle and behind the individualities there lay a force and a life which could combine varieties and harmonize conflicting characters. It is in time of conflict and of jarring that we feel the compelling force of family life or of a college tradition, checking wilfulness and caprice, and disciplining each

[1] Dale on *The Atonement*, p. 21.

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member into thoughtfulness and willing subordination. So in the early centuries of Christianity, it is far less rational to hold that the conception of a catholic Church was a compromise developed out of conflicting elements, than that it existed from the first in its real essence, with power to control and calm the conflict.

It is a significant fact, and one that is strange to merely literary and academic minds, that the earliest historian of the Church makes no mention of the literary documents of his time, not even of the epistles of St. Paul. They are not of primary importance to him. That which did seem important was a great conception of the Church existing from the first, of a body filled with the Spirit of God so as to be of one heart and one mind, dealing with difficulties and perplexities, the scene of moral evils and of intellectual disputings, yet ever maintaining the unity from which it started, *the* Church throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, the Church of God which He purchased with His own blood.[1]

II. Further, any attempt to picture the real spiritual life of the early Christians must throw into stronger relief than is often done the personality of the Lord Himself. In a friendly review of Pfleiderer's *Das Urchristenthum*, Professor E. Schürer complains that he, like Baur, "has overlooked nothing less than the chief fact, the creative personality of Jesus Christ." "Nowhere does it appear that the positive contents of the proclamation of Jesus Christ had any influence at all on the time that followed."[2] Such a criticism shows how far it is possible to slip away from the true centre of a position. The epistles of St. James, of St. Peter, of St. John, and even of St. Paul, are full of references, more or less conscious and declared, to the positive contents of the Lord's teaching. His persona-

[1] Acts ix. 31 (Rev. Ver.), xx. 28.

[2] *Theologisches Literarzeitung*, 1888, p. 516.

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lity was creative even to St. Paul, who had probably not seen Him in His earthly life. He is the sphere in whom he thinks, and acts, and commands, and entreats, and rebukes; the Lord to whom he pours forth his prayers, who speaks to him in clear utterance; the pattern life on whose meekness and gentleness he strives to mould his own impetuous temper; the object of knowledge; the goal which he longs to reach. St. Peter tells how those who had not seen Him love Him, and rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory; St. John still enjoys fellowship with Him, real as when he had heard and seen with his eyes and handled with his hands, a fellowship which is the source of fellowship with the Father and the security of fellowship with the brethren. The writer of the Acts, when he says that his former narrative contains that which Jesus *began* to do and to teach, implies that it is the same Jesus who continued to inspire his actions and the teachings of His apostles. No attempt therefore to interpret the life of the early Church can be adequate which does not give due emphasis to these two factors, the combining force of the sense of brotherhood, and the inspiring force of the personality of the Lord. If

> We live by admiration, hope, and love,

an account of early Church life must show what Christians admired, what was the object of their hope, what the object of their love.

> Love, hope, fear, faith—these make humanity,
> These are its sign and note and character.

If Browning is right in this, he who would depict the life of humanity at a time when it was confessedly stirred to its depths must be able to show us a power which could draw forth all and each of these true qualities. No presentation short of this can satisfy us. No qualifications short of

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these can make the true interpreter. He will need philological exactness to be loyal to his authorities; he will need historical imagination to picture the scene in living reality; he will need, above all, a spiritual sensitiveness, able to feel the real importance of that with which he deals. "For the searching into Holy Scripture and true knowledge there is a need of life, of spiritual beauty, and an unsullied soul, and virtue modelled upon Christ, that the mind, guided by it along its path, may be able to touch and lay hold of that at which it aims; . . . for without a pure mind, and an imitation of the life of the saints, none could really grasp the teaching of the saints." [1]

W. Lock.

ON THE MORAL CHARACTER OF PSEUDONYMOUS BOOKS.

I.

In the great mass of the world's literature, the productions that have borne names other than those of their real authors are many, and possess a peculiar interest. The task of discovering their secret stimulates curiosity; and the necessary research has often exercised the highest powers of learning and criticism, and given occasion to keen controversy. The literary history of pseudonymous books is in many cases very curious, and the circumstances of their origin have often thrown fresh light on obscure portions of history. Even to the literature of inspiration the interest derived from such questions is not wanting. For among the canonical writings of the Old and New Testament there are some which, by the mistakes of copyists, editors, or others, have been ascribed to those who were not their

[1] Athanasius, *De Incarnatione*, cap. lvii.

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true authors; for example, some of the Psalms, and, in the opinion of many, portions of Isaiah and Zechariah, and the Epistle to the Hebrews; and among apocryphal books there are some which contain a deliberate pretence to be the work of some more ancient and venerated man than their true author. Wrong ascriptions of the former kind will readily be allowed by all as quite compatible with inspiration; for they involve no false assertion by the author, but merely a mistake by some one else. But the case is different when a writing professes to be the work of a person who is not its real author; and until recently that was generally regarded as involving a fraud, whether pious or otherwise, and therefore incompatible with the character of a message from God. Of late however a different view of such literary fictions has come to be held by many critics; for they have been persuaded that some books make a false claim to authorship, which yet on other grounds must be regarded as divinely inspired, as they have been by the majority of Christians. This position has been generally supported by the idea, that the recognised custom of ancient literature allowed fictions of that kind to be constructed in perfect good faith, no deceit being intended or originally produced, though mistaken opinions were afterwards adopted; so that fictions which would now be judged as fraudulent and immoral were anciently viewed as perfectly legitimate. Canon Farrar gives brief and emphatic expression to this view, when he writes, "Those who have the slightest acquaintance with ancient literature know, that the adoption of a pseudonym involved no dishonest intention, and was indeed one of the most familiar of literary expedients."[1] So also Simcox in regard to the pastoral epistles: "To a writer of the period, it would appear as legitimate an artifice to compose a letter as to compose a speech in the name of a great man whose senti-

[1] *Solomon, his Life and Times*, p. 183.

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ments it was desired to reproduce and record; the question which seems so important to us, whether the words, and even the sentiments, are the great man's own or only his historian's, seems then hardly to have occurred either to writer or readers." [1] Similar statements are made by Dr. Samuel Davidson in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, and by Delitzsch and Plumptre in their introductions to Ecclesiastes; but they have not given evidence, or even indicated by references where evidence is to be found, of what is so confidently asserted. That it is not universally admitted by competent scholars may be seen from the words of Neander in reference to such a view of the Epistle of James: "The assertion made by Kern, . . . that, according to the principles of the early Christian age, such a literary imposture would be irreproachable, I cannot acknowledge to be well-founded, if expressed without limitation. There was indeed a certain standing-point from which such a *fraus pia*, as we must always call it (when a palpable falsehood was made use of to put certain statements in circulation), would be allowed; but that this was a generally approved practice appears to me an arbitrary assumption." [2] The matter then is not so clear and certain as is often assumed, and as it has an important bearing on many questions of biblical criticism, it deserves careful investigation. It is a question of fact, what was the intention and moral character of pseudonymous writings in ancient times, to the discussion of which this paper is offered as a contribution; the bearing of the fact when ascertained on inspiration, or on the canonicity of particular books, is a different thing, which may be afterwards considered, but should be left out of view in the first place.

The practice of composing writings under fictitious names

[1] *The Writers of the New Testament*, p. 38.
[2] *Planting and Training of the Christian Church* (Eng. trans.), vol. ii., p. 15.

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is probably as old as literature; but it has flourished especially in ages and countries in which literary skill was well developed in a part of the community, while in the generality there was an ignorant regard for learning that could easily be imposed on. The former of these circumstances would provide the power to produce such artifices, and the latter would secure that they would be both highly esteemed and not easily detected. These conditions existed from about the third century before Christ to the revival of letters. Before the former time book-learning was not so much cultivated as to give facility and motive to literary fictions; and since the sixteenth century criticism has acquired such discernment, as to make it impossible that any such fiction should long escape detection. The formation of the two great public libraries, that in the Museum of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.), and that of Pergamus, founded by Eumenes II. (197–159 B.C.), created a great demand for copies of the works of famous authors; and since large prices were given for these by the competing librarians, there was a temptation to ascribe to an illustrious name any anonymous work that was similar to those that truly bore it. This tendency is sufficient to account for the circumstance, that among the writings ascribed to Plato, Aristotle, and other great authors are included many pieces that are not theirs, but the work of scholars and followers. Then, as it came to be perceived that copies of works by the old classic authors were far more highly valued than productions of contemporary writers, men found it the most profitable exercise of their literary skill to compose imitations of ancient works and palm them off as genuine. It would be the interest of the collectors of books, no less than of the writers of such imitations, to have as many as possible received as genuine; and though the science of literary criticism had its birth in that age, and its great leader Aristarchus, its

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methods were as yet very rude, and its tests of authenticity very far from searching.

The art of literary imitation, which was thus fostered by mercenary motives, came also to be often practised as a mere exercise of skill, and though naturally the test of success in such compositions would be the completeness of the deception effected, there might be no fraudulent purpose in the practice. Often however the secret was entirely kept, and unknown sophists foisted on the public works composed in the name of celebrated authors of earlier times, purely as efforts of literary art. Skill of this kind was obviously a dangerous weapon, and in the hands of an unscrupulous person might tempt him to an unworthy use of it for personal or party purposes. Especially frequent became the practice of endeavouring to gain acceptance for certain opinions or precepts by embodying them in works ascribed to venerated authorities. This could generally be better done by interpolations in genuine writings than by the composition of new ones; and a very early case of this kind is the conduct ascribed to Solon of inserting a verse in the *Iliad* to favour the Athenians' claims on the island of Salamis. Another motive that sometimes led to the assumption of a false name was the desire to conceal the authorship of unpopular opinions which would expose their propounder to discredit or danger. This was seldom necessary in the tolerant times of antiquity; the suspicious tyranny of the Roman emperors and the persecuting reign of orthodoxy gave too much occasion for it later.[1]

Besides these kinds of pseudonymous compositions, the reasons of which required that they should be seriously taken as the works of the assumed authors, there are two

[1] I need no apology for being indebted for the substance of the above paragraphs to Bentley's *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, at the outset of which he gives, as Prof. Jebb says, "in a few words a broad view of the origin and growth of literary forgery in the ancient world."—"English Men of Letters," *Bentley*. By R. C. Jebb, p. 67.

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other classes of such productions, in which that is not needed or desired. One may be called the dramatic, in which, for the purpose of bringing out with force and vividness the character and sentiments of a person in a certain situation, there are ascribed to him either spoken or written words, which the reader accepts only as what he might have said. Speeches of this kind, as parts of larger works, are as old as dramatic poetry of any kind; and were admitted by the ancient historians much more freely than by their modern successors. But separate compositions of this kind, such as the dramatic monologues with which Browning and Tennyson have made our age familiar, have not been very common; though Ovid's *Heroides* are a well-known example in ancient literature. In all such cases however the form is poetical, suited to the imaginative nature of the subject; and thus any possibility of deception is excluded. The effect aimed at by the author is not fully attained, unless the composition is known to be a work of fancy.

Another kind of pseudonymous writing in which no deception is meant may be described as ironical; which is used especially in controversy, when arguments against an opponent are put in the mouth of an imaginary person, inferior in knowledge or wisdom to the real author. Pascal's *Letters to a Provincial by one of his Friends*, in which in the character of a Parisian gentleman he exposes the morality of the Jesuits, afford the best specimen of this kind of composition; and examples may also be found in many of the papers of Steele and Addison, Swift's *Drapier's Letters*, Bentley's *Remarks on a Discourse on Freethinking*, in the character of a German scholar, Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*, etc. This is a literary development of the inimitable irony, or affected ignorance, of Socrates, exhibited in the Platonic dialogues; yet it is remarkable that there is no instance of such composition among the many pseu-

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donymous books of antiquity.[1] The essential feature, which gives controversial force to this style of writing, is that the character assumed is inferior to the real one; whereas the practice of those who wrote under false names in ancient times was rather to claim the superior authority of some great or venerable name.

Both the dramatic and the ironical form of pseudonymous composition require, for their appreciation, that the readers should have nearly as much literary culture as the writers; and hence could only flourish under conditions not favourable to successful deception. Thus since the revival of letters the dramatic form of fictitious authorship has very greatly increased, and the ironical may be said to have come into existence; while forms designed to be received as genuine have become rare or obsolete. The *Icon Basilike*, the Rowley poems of Chatterton, and the Ireland Shakspearian forgeries are the most noted in English literature; and these never obtained much or long credence.

It would seem therefore, from a general survey of the subject, that so far from innocent and recognised fictions in composition being more common in ancient than in modern literature, the very opposite is nearer the truth; for of ancient pseudonymous books a far larger proportion was meant to be received as genuine than of modern; and indeed it seems doubtful whether any but a very few were written in perfect good faith. The matter however deserves a closer investigation; and it may be ascertained whether this general presumption is borne out or modified, by examining, in the first place, how pseudonymous works are spoken of by ancient writers; and, secondly, what is the tone and character, in a moral point of view, of extant works that are undoubtedly pseudonymous. The former

[1] The device of Celsus, putting his arguments against Christianity in the mouth of a Jew, which Origen says was after the manner of the rhetoricians (c. *Cels.* i. 28), is not a parallel, since it occupied only part of his treatise.

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inquiry may disclose evidence of a general understanding to regard such work as a legitimate literary device; and the latter may show such a high moral tone in them, that we cannot believe their authors to have been wilful deceivers.

In considering the external aspect of ancient pseudonymous writings, or how they were regarded by intelligent readers, we get the most valuable information from the Christian writers of the early centuries; for they had occasion very often to refer to such works, and they had a high moral standard of judgment. If they are found speaking with respect of books which they recognise to be pseudonymous, this would afford a presumption that dramatic personation was viewed as a legitimate and well understood literary device. But, in fact, they speak in a quite different way. A book very often quoted by the Fathers, and one which many modern critics confidently pronounce to be an example of such innocent personation,[1] is that entitled the *Wisdom of Solomon*. It was highly esteemed by the early Christians; but they almost all regarded it as a genuine writing of Solomon, and an inspired and prophetic book. In this way it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria;[2] and Tertullian, in his rhetorical way, contrasting Christianity with Stoicism, the philosophy of the Porch, says: "Our instruction comes from the porch of Solomon" (referring to the testimony of the apostles in Acts iii.), and then he proceeds, "who has himself taught us that the Lord should be sought in simplicity of heart" (Wisdom i. 1).[3] Elsewhere he quotes Wisdom i. 6 as Divine,[4] and Wisdom ii. as a prophecy.[5] Hippolytus also quotes the book as a prophecy of Solomon about Christ.[6] Cyprian

[1] See Dr. S. Davidson's *Introduction to the Old Testament*; Plumptre on Ecclesiastes (in Cambridge *Bible for Schools*); Delitzsch on Ecclesiastes.

[2] *Strom.* vi. 15. [3] *De Præscriptione Hær.*, cap. vii. [4] *De Anima*, cap. xv.

[5] *Contra Marcionem* iii. 22. [6] *Contra Judæos*, capp. ix., x.

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quotes very loosely from the sapiential books, repeatedly using the phrase "in Solomon" with reference to the Wisdom of Ben Sirach; and once, after a quotation of Proverbs xiv. 25, as "in the proverbs of Solomon," adding Wisdom v. 1–9, with the words, "also in the same place." This last must have been a slip of memory, and so probably were the others; but Cyprian seems to have had no doubt that the book of Wisdom was by Solomon, and divinely inspired, for besides quoting it several times as sacred Scripture, he says expressly, "the Holy Spirit shows and predicts by Solomon." Lactantius and Melito of Sardes also refer to it as Solomon's and as Scripture. Origen in his treatise against Celsus calls it "Scripture," "the word of God," "the treatise of Solomon on wisdom"; but in the Latin version of his work *De Principiis*, we find expressions of doubt, as "Sapientia quæ dicitur Salomonis," and again the same phrase with the addition "qui utique liber non ab omnibus in auctoritate habetur." As the most distinct indications of dubiety occur only in Rufinus' Latin version of Origen's lost work, they may be due to the translator, who is known to have modified some of his author's expressions into conformity with the orthodoxy of the time; but even if they are by Origen himself, they only show that, as in regard to the Epistle of the Hebrews, he sometimes used the language of popular opinion, and sometimes expressed his own critical doubts. When the book was recognised to be undoubtedly not the work of Solomon, it was also judged not to be canonical, as by Jerome, who says that it is not found in Hebrew and is redolent of Greek style, and therefore should not be used to support any doctrine, though it may continue to be read in churches.[1] The only trace of its being regarded as authoritative, though not composed by Solomon, is to be found in an obscure and doubtful clause in the Fragment of Muratori,

[1] *Præfatio in Libros Salomonis.*

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which in the most literal form that is intelligible seems to say that Wisdom was written by the friends of Solomon in honour of him, and was held in authority in the catholic Church. But critics are very much divided in opinion as to the meaning and purpose of the statement; and some think that it refers, not to the book now known as the Wisdom of Solomon, but to the book of Proverbs, which was often called by that name in the ancient Church.[1] If there had been any general opinion that Wisdom was a legitimate dramatic personation, there would surely have been more evidence of it than this single doubtful statement. The prevalent belief of its genuineness is indeed very surprising, and shows how rude and inexact was the criticism of that age; but this makes it very unlikely that the author intended it to be received as anything else than a real writing of Solomon.

Another pseudonymous work, frequently quoted by early Christian writers, and referred to by heathen authors, is the collection of Sibylline oracles. These however are uniformly appealed to as real predictions by ancient Gentile prophetesses,[2] though a great part of them is undoubtedly of Jewish origin, and much is quite as certainly Christian. Origen says that Celsus charged the Christians with interpolating the Sibylline books; and the way in which he meets this charge is remarkable. He simply denies that Celsus had proved it, since he had not produced copies in which the alleged interpolations were absent.[3] Now it is very hard to believe that a man of Origen's learning and scholarship was unaware that some portions of these so called oracles were really the work of Christians not long before his own time. If he knew these parts of the collec-

[1] See the Fragment in its original and critically corrected form in Westcott on the *Canon of the New Testament*.

[2] This is done by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 20; *Coh. ad Gent.*, cap. 37; *Coh.*, cap. 38; Clemens Alex., *Prot.* cap. iv.; *Strom.* vi. 5; and others.

[3] *Contrà Celsum* v. 61 and vii. 56.

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tion, and believed them to be the utterances of the ancient sibyls, this gives a very astonishing idea of the uncritical character of the age. But perhaps it is not inconsistent with the general character of Origen as a controversialist[1] to surmise, that he may have been aware that his opponent's charge was not without foundation, and have adopted an evasive mode of answering it, so as neither to assert boldly the authority of these oracles, nor frankly to abandon testimonies on which many of his less learned fellow Christians laid much stress. Anyhow it is clear that the accusation of Celsus was one of forgery with intent to deceive; and that neither he nor Origen had any idea that such verses in the name of a sibyl might have been composed innocently as a mere literary device, such as Vergil's adaptation of Sibylline oracles to a Roman child in his fourth Eclogue.

Several other facts may be mentioned, as showing the view generally taken of pseudonymous books. Eusebius relates that Serapion, who was bishop of the Church at Antioch about 190 A.D., found the Gospel of Peter used in the Church at Rhossus in Cilicia, and at first did not object to its being read, though he did not believe it to be a genuine work of the apostle, but afterwards, when he found that they were being led into heresy, condemned it as the production of some of the Docetæ.[2] This shows that the mere fact of a book being known to bear a fictitious name was not sufficient of itself to condemn it, but that its use might be tolerated, if it were harmless; though such toleration proved in this case to be dangerous, and the fiction was not an innocent one.

Tertullian informs us, that the book entitled the "Acts

[1] A charge against Origen of want of candour and strict veracity as a controversialist is made by Bishop Horsley in regard to two points that came into discussion in his controversy with Dr. Priestley, and on both there seems to be too good ground for it.

[2] Eus., *H. E.*, vi. 12; comp. Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 342.

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of Paul and Thekla" was composed by a presbyter in Asia, who being convicted, and confessing that he had done it out of love to Paul, was removed from his office.[1] This shows what was the judgment of the Christian community on literary personation.

In the Muratorian Fragment, immediately before the obscure statement about Wisdom formerly quoted, there occurs this: "There is also in circulation another epistle to the Laodiceans [and another] to the Alexandrians, composed in the name of Paul bearing on the heresy of Marcion, and several others, which cannot be received into the catholic Church, for it is not fitting that gall be mingled with honey." It may be doubted whether these pseudonymous writings were regarded as gall, merely because they bore a false name, or also on account of their erroneous contents; but in general these two features were found together in the same books.

Thus Cyril of Jerusalem, when giving a list of the canonical books, says: "The four gospels alone, but the rest are falsely inscribed and hurtful (*ψευδεπίγραφα καὶ βλαβερά*). The Manichæans also wrote a Gospel according to Thomas, which, tinged with the fragrance of the evangelical title, corrupts the souls of the more simple."[2] Manichæans, on being received into the catholic Church, were required to abjure the use of apocryphal writings; and a bishop of the fifth century, Turibius, did not scruple to assert that they had either invented or corrupted every apocryphal book.

The circumstance that pseudonymous books were chiefly composed by heretics such as Gnostics[3] and Manichæans, may be accounted for, without ascribing to them an absolutely inferior morality, by the consideration that those who

[1] Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, cap. 17. [2] Cyril Hieros., *Catech.* iv. 36.
[3] This is stated by Hegesippus in Eus., *H. E.* iv. 22. See Mosheim, *Church History* i. 177.

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held theories not contained in the genuine apostolic writings would find a need and a temptation to discover other testimony in their favour, which was not felt by those who did not carry their speculations beyond the teaching of the acknowledged canonical books. Still even they were sometimes led by zeal and enthusiasm to imagine that Jewish and heathen predictions of Christ must have been more distinct than they really are, and in the desire of converting unbelievers to use or invent fictitious oracles.[1] The Ignatian Epistles, which, even if some be in substance genuine, were undoubtedly all interpolated, and some fabricated, in the interest of the episcopal government of the Church, afford proof that in the fourth century and afterwards the defenders of the catholic faith and Church order did not scruple to have recourse to such arts.

From these facts it would seem to follow, that in the early Christian centuries, when any work was given out as of ancient or venerable authorship, it was either received as genuine, which was done with very great facility of belief, or rejected as an imposture; that such fictions, though very common, were regarded, at least by the stricter Christian teachers, as morally blameworthy; and that the notion of dramatic personation as a legitimate literary device is never mentioned, and seems never to have been thought of as a defence of such compositions. If any author wrote a pseudonymous book in such a way, he must have been very unsuccessful in his purpose; for it was generally taken as a genuine work, or else rejected as feigned and worthless.

On the other hand, the great number of such compositions on moral and religious subjects that appeared in those times seems to show that they were not due to mere selfish or worldly motives, but that in some way or other

[1] See Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 355; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. 72 Mosheim, *loc. cit.*

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the deception of the readers was reconcilable with piety. This seems best accounted for by the prevalence of the idea that it was lawful, and sometimes necessary, to employ falsehood or fiction in support of religion, and to deceive men for their higher good. This view was held especially by the Pythagoreans and Platonists, who thought that a certain class of men were peculiarly fit, by mental ability or learning, to receive the highest truth, which could not be apprehended by the vulgar, and should not be divulged to them. These must be treated like children or imbeciles, whom it is lawful and expedient to deceive for their own good.[1] This view was adopted by Philo-Judæus,[2] and by some of the early Christian writers. It is easy to see how this theory and practice would be countenanced in the pagan world of those times by the fact that the philosophers, though entirely disbelieving the religion and mythology of the people, yet conformed to its rites in daily life, and maintained them as useful for public order; and it is equally obvious, that such a prevalent idea would make it seem to many earnest men quite legitimate to endeavour to impress moral and religious lessons by compositions deriving authority from fictitious names. This would not appear so glaring an inconsistency as it rightly does to us now. But since genuine Christianity rejects that depreciation of the profane vulgar which in some of the best systems of ancient philosophy was made a justification of such fictions, and attaches a more absolute obligation to truthfulness than current pagan morality did, everything of the nature of pious frauds was condemned by the more earnest Christian teachers, although with the rise of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in a later age such

[1] The system of the Pythagoreans and Platonists, veiling truth from the vulgar, is described by Clemens Alex., *Strom.* v. 8–10, and the legitimacy of deceiving men in certain cases for their own good is asserted by him, *ib.* vii. 9, as also by Plato, *Rep.* iii., p. 389, and by Origen, *c. Cels.* i., pref. § 5.

[2] *De Cherubim.*, p. 110.

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artifices were resorted to in support of the Church and her faith. Even in the apostolic age they seem not to have been entirely unknown. In 2 Thessalonians ii. 3 Paul warns his readers against being deceived into a belief of the immediate approach of the day of the Lord, either by spirit—that is, by fancied prophetic communication—or by word or by letter as from us—that is, by oral or written teaching purporting to come from Paul. A false report of his word might proceed from a mere mistake; but a letter wrongly ascribed to him could only be a fiction designed to deceive. That Paul anticipated that such practices would increase among those who departed from pure Christianity appears from 1 Timothy iv. 1, where he characterizes the seducers of the last days as "speaking falsely in hypocrisy," that is, acting a part,—a phrase which in its proper meaning exactly describes the literary forgeries that were so largely associated with Gnostic, Manichæan, and ascetic errors, such as he describes in the following verses.

The instances commonly adduced, when any evidence is indicated, in support of the statement that literary personation was anciently looked on as a legitimate form of composition, are the speeches in the Greek and Latin histories, Xenophon's and Plato's Apologies of Socrates, and the Dialogues of Plato as a whole. But of these only the Apologies of Socrates are cases of whole pieces written by one author in the name of another; they purport to be reports of what was spoken, not written, by the man whose name they bear; and that ascribed to Xenophon is judged by competent critics to be certainly spurious, while that of Plato was in all probability, not a mere production of his own imagination, but in substance a true record of what Socrates actually said.[1] The same thing may be asserted

[1] See Zeller, *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*, p. 165; also Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, and Whewell's *Platonic Dialogues for English Readers*.

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in regard to some of Plato's Dialogues, and the speeches given by the best historians; and though in others of these dialogues and speeches there is more imagination than fact, these are not analogous to entire letters and treatises bearing to have been written by one different from their real author. The greater freedom used by ancient than by modern historians in regard to speeches might raise a presumption that there would also be a more general recognition of imaginative personation in written documents; but the facts do not show that this was actually the case. The known instances of pseudonymous books were actually received as genuine, and presumably were designed to be so. When Delitzsch says,[1] "The arts by which it is sought to impart to that which is introduced into a more recent period the appearance of genuineness were unknown to antiquity," he makes too sweeping an assertion. It is true that imitative skill was not so great in ancient as in modern times; but it is not the fact that attempts were not made, by an archaic colouring of style, or imitation of the writer personated, to give an appearance of truth to the picture. The authors of the Sibylline oracles departed from the strict rules of versification observed in their own time, and affected the less regular metres of the Homeric poems, in order to give an air of antiquity to their productions; and Bentley mentions an odd forgery of Anaximenes the historian, who, "having a spite to his rival historian Theopompus, wrote a bitter invective against the three most powerful governments of Greece, the Athenian, Lacedæmonian, and Theban, where he exactly imitated Theopompus' style. This book he sends abroad in Theopompus' name, and so makes him odious all over Greece."[2] But while the imitation of the

[1] Introduction to Ecclesiastes (Eng. trans.), p. 208.

[2] "Dissertation on Phalaris," second edition, in Bentley's *Works*, edited by Dyce, vol. i., p. 87.

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style of another person or age was not unknown in antiquity, it would be unsafe to conclude that its absence is a sure proof that no deceit was intended, since that might be due to mere lack of ability or care on the part of the writer. The reading public was very easily imposed upon in ancient times, and the clumsiness of a forgery is no evidence of its innocence.

On the whole, the external evidence available on the subject points to the conclusion, not that avowedly dramatic fiction was a common form of literature in the times when pseudonymous books were most rife, but that there prevailed in those days a philosophic view and standard of morality which permitted earnest and good men to sanction and practise the use of falsehood in support of religion and morals. Whether the moral character of any certainly pseudonymous work is so high as to make this explanation impossible is a question that requires separate discussion.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

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LOST OR LATENT POWERS OF THE FIVE SENSES,

WITH RELATION TO 2 KINGS VI. 8–17 AND ST. LUKE XXIV. 13–35.

LOST *or* latent is a caption meant to indicate that they are alternative terms in the solution of the problem to which they refer. Perhaps it may serve to show our standpoint in respect of the former ("lost") if I begin with an illustration. On a recent pilgrim-visit to an Elizabethan mansion, a little discovery was communicated to us. Amongst other things, this historic mansion has some fine views from the windows. The rooms are old-fashioned and low-ceilinged, but have been adapted to modern ideas as well as circumstances permitted, without obliterating its ancient and quaint character. The present proprietor is proud of the place. One day, looking toward his house from the edge of a coppice, it struck him that there were faint traces of a window having been formerly in one of the angles where now there was only a dead wall. By means of a ladder, he made careful examination, and discovered that a window had been skilfully built up—so skilfully that an ordinary onlooker would never have suspected such a thing. It had been built up evidently for reasons of convenience in the interior. The point I wish to accentuate is, that the built up window commanded a *bit* of exquisite scenery not visible from any other window in the whole mansion.

Necessarily all analogies are imperfect, though the imperfection partakes of their quality. But I find this thought started by this discovery, that one might argue that at present a window may be curtained or shuttered which may yet open wide to the SPIRITUAL. And beyond this, one asks whether this window were not temporarily thrown open for God's seers? and that there may be a sixth sense as

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different from any one we now have as hearing is from smelling? and still further, why not this be one of the things LOST in the fall (accepting the tragic word)? I submit the illustration for what it is worth as a sanction of our use of "lost" as well as "latent." But I readily own that "latent" more nearly describes what I am anxious to bring out in this Bible-study.

As given in our heading, the example of LATENT POWER is fetched from the story of Elisha and his young attendant in beleaguered Dothan; and by it I find myself led forward to the co-equally remarkable one of the two "disciples" (query, husband and wife?) of Emmaus, who were overtaken by our Lord on their home-journey from Jerusalem on the great third day. Both seem to give us fore-glimpses and foretastes (so to say) of the probable aggrandisement of our five senses—arguing from one ("sight") to the other four. Let us as summarily as may be look into this matter.

In limine, I must state that I believe in the supernatural and miraculous and in a living providence of God, exactly as I believe in the existence of the natural and law-governed universe. But just now it is not required that one intermeddle with the problem or problems involved therein. For our present purpose it is sufficient to postulate that I accept alike the Old Testament and New Testament narratives as historic fact. Neither, I must further remark, am I called upon to offer any theory or explanation of the phenomena involved. These phenomena I receive precisely as I receive the phenomena of LIFE, without gainsaying as without attempt to get at their secret, which, as in so much else, God meanwhile holds in His own keeping.

I. 2 Kings vi. 8–17: "Now the king of Syria warred against Israel; and he took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such a place shall be my camp. And the man of God sent unto the king of Israel, saying, Beware that thou pass not such a place; for thither the Syrians are

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coming down. And the king of Israel sent to the place which the man of God told him and warned him of; and he saved himself there, not once nor twice. And the heart of the king of Syria was sore troubled for this thing; and he called his servants, and said unto them, Will ye not shew me which of us is for the king of Israel? And one of his servants said, Nay, my lord, O king: but Elisha, the prophet that is in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bed-chamber. And he said, Go and see where he is, that I may send and fetch him. And it was told him, saying, Behold, he is in Dothan. Therefore sent he thither horses, and chariots, and a great host: and they came by night, and compassed the city about. And when the servant of the man of God was risen early, and gone forth, behold, a host with horses and chariots was round about the city. And his servant said unto him, Alas, my master! how shall we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, I pray Thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." From this we learn that Elisha, the illustrious servant of Elijah, was now temporarily resident at Dothan, and that he was "wanted" by the king of Syria, in order that he might be on his side as against the king of Israel. Having discovered that Elisha was at Dothan, the king of Syria "sent thither," we read, "horses, and chariots, and a great host: and they came by night, and compassed the city about" (ver. 14). The circumstances were thus extremely perilous for the prophet of God, who necessarily had no "horses, or chariots, or hosts" of any kind, neither force of any kind to meet counter-forces. Nevertheless Elisha appears before us stout of heart. For we find that when, before the dawn of the next morning after the arrival of the royal "com-

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pany," intelligence was brought to him that "an host encompassed the city both with horses and chariots" (ver. 15), and his young attendant became terror-stricken, exclaiming, "Alas, my master! how shall we do?" that master answered courageously, "Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them" (ver. 16). Thus spake the man of God and man of faith—manifesting the same grand faith that sang later, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them" (Ps. xxxiv. 7); "He hath delivered my soul in peace from the battle that was against me: for they were many that strove with me" (Ps. lv. 18); "He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways" (Ps. xci. 11); and the same faith that bore up Hezekiah under the threats and insults of Sennacherib, and enabled him to hearten his captains of war, saying, "Be strong and of a good courage, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him: for there is a greater with us than with him: with him is an arm of flesh; but with us is the Lord our God to help us, and to fight our battles" (2 Chron. xxxii. 7): and yet again the same faith that inspired St. John to write those clarion words, "Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them: because greater is He that is in you than he that is in the world" (1 John iv. 4). May it not also be affirmed that it was the same faith that made Martin Luther go to the diet at Worms and John Knox to the council-meeting at Stirling? All honour to Elisha for his dauntless bearing! all honour to his unshakable faith! But be it noted that it was faith. Surely this renders it the more striking that Elisha should have asked something else, and so different, for his young servant!

En passant, it does not at all lessen, though it accounts for, the prophet's courage of faith, that it rested on a prior experience, when he had the veil that hides the unseen

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raised, on his master Elijah being taken away, as thus vividly told (2 Kings ii. 10–12): "And Elijah said, . . . If thou *see* me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so. And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared chariots of fire, and horses of fire, which parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. And Elisha saw it." All this being so, we are to understand that on the present occasion Elisha fell back on his former experience and knowledge; and though he himself neither needed nor asked a repetition of his vision of the armies of the Lord, he sought for his young attendant that he might have his alarm and distress hushed by a demonstration to his sense of sight of the reality of his master's assurance that it was literally true that there were "more with them" than all the hosts of the king of Syria. And so Elisha, not at all standing on his dignity, much less taking offence that, spite of his assurance, his young attendant still trembled, turned to the Lord and prayed, "Lord, I pray Thee, open his eyes, that he may see."

Before passing on, three subsidiary lines of thought inevitably call for brief statement.

1. Elisha, like the Roman centurion of Capernaum, was not above sympathising with and caring for his "servant" ("slave"?), and not only so, but was confident that the Lord God of Elijah and his God was interested in the humblest.

2. Elisha's prayer tells us that whatever the new power was that saw the else invisible, it was in his opinion communicable to the humblest, and so to his "servant."

3. Elisha did not strain or seek to over-prove the faith of his young attendant, but rather sought for him that he might walk by sight, albeit sight touched to finer issues.

In all this there is not a little that may well come home to our businesses and bosoms to-day.

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The narrative of the prayer of Elisha is very memorable (ver. 17): "And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, I pray Thee, open his eyes, that he may see." Equally memorable, and conveying a sense of swift and Divine immediateness and supernaturalness, is the record of the issue and answer: "And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." All that flaming splendour unsealed for the sake of one obscure, lowly, nameless "servant"! Only one other incident excels it —Jesus preaching one of His supremest revelations to the one woman by the well of Jacob!

We have thus before us the example of lost or latent powers of the five senses as contained in the Old Testament story. At this point therefore it will reward to ponder the employment of ordinary words to inform us on this extraordinary thing. The Hebrew verb פָּקַח and the Septuagint *διανοίγω*=to open by drawing asunder (*διά*), to open thoroughly what had been closed, are elsewhere used in Holy Scripture in the ordinary sense to "open" or "open up"; just as Elisha in his prayer uses the ordinary word meaning to "see," while the fulfilment is recorded by the same word, "and he saw" (חָזָה, חָזָא). It is here I find the "latent" power that is the subject of this exposition. For as I read the story of Dothan, the "opening" was of the young man's natural eyes, but after such sort that, to his ordinary faculty of ordinary seeing or vision, was super-added the extraordinary faculty of seeing the otherwise unseen. To my mind there is revealed in this something infinitely deeper than the modern fable of "eyes and no eyes"; infinitely deeper than such incident as is told of Hagar, "And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water" (Gen. xxi. 19)—meaning that her tear-dimmed eyes were divinely guided to "see" a well that otherwise she should have overlooked. In short, I find in the narrative of

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the answered prayer of Elisha the impartation of a new faculty to the eyes, and a new faculty to the soul through the eyes, of the young man, whereby he saw the encompassing armies of God. I must also infer from this bestowment on Elisha and his attendant, that we have herein set before us possibilities of the enrichment and ennoblement of the sense of sight (to begin with) as opens up a whole world of delightful speculation, and that may well kindle hopes that, wonderful as is the sense of sight (selecting it) in our present experience, it is far beneath what it may yet attain.

II. The same line of thought-speculative (not imaginative) belongs to the corresponding New Testament incident already designated, as recorded in St. Luke xxiv. 13–35. I confine myself now to the two things contained in vers. 16 and 31 respectively, "their eyes were *holden* that they should not know Him," and "their eyes were *opened*, and they knew Him." The phrasing of the former, *ἐκρατοῦντο τοῦ μή*, . . . seems indubitably to express a supernatural agency being employed to produce the effect of non-recognition. That is the least we can take out of "holden" (*κρατέω*). The phrasing again in the latter, *αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί*, . . . seems similarly to assume a supernatural "opening"; that is, a release from the previous "holding" or hindering.

Without going into details, or confusing exposition with exegesis, we have here again the sense of sight controlled, on the one hand hinderingly and on the other helpingly. So that, though variant from the Old Testament story in its accidents, the same phenomena of "latent powers" is illustrated. Hence I again find in this New Testament incident warrant for anticipating that sight will be a measurelessly greater, nobler, diviner thing than it is at present. For the conclusion is inevitable that there are "lost" or "latent powers" in man's senses that only require Divine

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"opening" to engrandeur them—as with sight—into higher and still higher faculties.

We must notice also the simpleness of the working out of the result. Going back upon the "opening" of the eyes of the "young man," and on the "opening" of the eyes of the two disciples, one has a feeling that, prodigious as was the aggrandisement of the sense, it came as quietly and unremarkably as "opening" the eyes or dropping the eyelids. A good man's prayer of half a second or less, and immediately we read, "And he *saw*: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." And again: for an hour or more the two disciples' eyes were "holden" that "they should not know Him"; and contemporaneously the sense of hearing must have been in some way suspended, or they must have recognised the old, familiar tones. But by-and-by we find "their eyes were *opened*, and they knew Him." Can it be questioned that all this permits us to infer that even now a Divine touch or look upon us, and these mortal eyes of ours should "see" God's ministering spirits hastening hither and thither; "see" a thousand and one evidences of a living Providence; "see" that no child of God is alone, but is God-guarded? One's bosom swells, is "enlarged," one's forefeeling of one's destiny greatens, in the anticipation of the "ampler air" we are appointed to breathe, and the purer light we shall yet "see."

I would shun spiritualizing; but, combining with the simpleness of the Divine operation in revealing "lost" or "latent powers," may we not find a symbol herein of that "opening" of eyes which takes place under the gospel? We meet with fellow men whose eyes are shut and sealed. We argue with them. We point them to this and that, and then we ask in amazement, *Don't you see it?* They really do not. Should we not take Elisha's way, and "pray" God to "open" their eyes?

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I have thus far taken sight to represent the five senses. But the same inference applies to hearing, smelling, tasting, touching. He who made the eye made the ear; and it is congruous to conclude that, marvellous as is our present sense of hearing, it may well be a mere beginning of its faculty. The micrometer of Edison has revealed a new world of possible observation and record of hitherto unrecognisable sounds. But the one discovery and invention makes us feel that we are standing on the borderland of many kindred. Who so recently as a couple of years ago would have credited that the walking of a fly across a window-pane, and even over a ceiling, could be, and would be, made audible? Yet it is so. So that I for one am shut up to think that in the "highest height" of present attainment there are still "higher heights"; in short, that the sense of hearing as we now exercise it is as nothing to what it is predestined to become. The "music of the spheres" may yet be heard, and even grander things. In thus writing, I but argue from the exaltation of sight to the exaltation of hearing.

Smelling in our chill Western countries is a very meagre sense compared with what it is in the East; *id est*, as a source of God-intended enjoyment for man. One who travels in the East—in the lands of the Bible—is much struck with the deliciousness of scents, perfumes, fragrances, sweet smells there. These enter into the daily life, into the familiar use and wont, of nearly all classes. So that one retains a charming recollection of the refreshment and pleasantness of the exercise of the sense of smell in the East, especially when, foot-sore and tired, we were passed into the bath, and came forth with such *élan* of refreshment as words are poor to utter.

The sense of smell is greatly undervalued with us as a source of gratification. Nay, it is cruelly sinned against by that still too common indulgence which the negro wisely

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refused by saying, "No, massa; me nose no hungry." I met with no users of snuff in the East. It would have been treason to lands so odorous.

When we come to study it, it surprises how frequently in Holy Scripture the sense of smell is addressed.

The possibilities of aggrandisement of the sense of smell, co-equally with sight and hearing, is further seen when its exercise is observed among the Bedawin of the desert and the Red Indians of America. Their sense of smell—as of water at a great distance, of a trail of game—is acute as against our dulness.

Even more humiliatingly, we get insight into what the sense of smell is—its richness, its informingness, its supremacy, its divineness—in, *e.g.*, the dog. I sometimes think that the nose of a greyhound or of almost any dog is as wonderful a contrivance as the eye or ear. Here is an actual case. "Clyde" is a short-haired, pure-bred Scotch collie. Some years ago he "took" to one of the students—call him Frank Richardson—in a certain college, who afterwards went as a missionary to the Congo. About a year ago he had to come home unexpectedly on furlough. He came off so suddenly, that the letter to tell of his coming was in his pocket. He came to the door of one of the professors, to whom "Clyde" belonged, straight from the steamer at Plymouth, and absolutely unannounced. Before he had knocked "Clyde" rushed to the front door in a state of the wildest excitement for joy, and as soon as the door was opened, leaped to embrace him. How did the dog know sooner than the professor and his family circle? There are "strange things in heaven and earth." I can conceive the transference to man of this higher function given to smell. So conceiving, I get another glimpse into the possibilities of "lost" or "latent powers" of the five senses.

Tasting adds so much to the enjoyment of life, owing

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as we do to it zest, relish, agreeableness in daily food, that a separate argument might be constructed for this sense also being exalted far above present attainment, and becoming the co-equal of its associate senses. Take the element of sin out of it, and how Divine a faculty might not taste become!

Touch is to be studied at its present best in the blind, and deaf, and dumb. Into how exquisite a sense it grows in them! How does even the boasted tactile sensibility of Meissonier's fingers sink into insignificance beside the story of Laura Bridgman! Born without sight, hearing, smelling, tasting, with only touch, this extraordinary woman, through this solitary and relatively inferior sense, came to know God, and to reveal an intellect of exceptional strength and varied capacity, and a heart tender and loving. What a conception her case gives us of the soul, when a soul that was despoiled of the four senses, and dumb, nevertheless by the sense of touch grew to be what she did grow to be, and to do what she did! So here again this very capacity within these limits leads us up to the "lost" or "latent powers" of the five senses, when, present limitations being removed, and present circumstances changed, we shall rise to our full dignity.

I close our study with indicating other three things suggested by our observations:

1. The question rises, "What is the spiritual body?" *Certes* not matter thinned into thinnest air, but an actual body, made "like unto Christ," which He Himself declared to be of "flesh and blood and bones," and in which He ate of "broiled fish and honey" as before (St. Luke xxiv. 42). We must think of the "spiritual body" as possessed of larger and more wonderful powers, and as wholly responsive to the pure spirit that dominates it, and as somehow *en rapport* with the heavenly and unseen, though still remaining a human body.

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2. We are constrained to link on the whole of our present inquiry with the great words of St. Peter, "partakers of [a] Divine nature" (2 Pet. i. 4), as if something nobler than pantheism in its most glittering dream ever conceived were waiting for God's redeemed. The "Divine nature" pointed at was (I judge) of "God manifest in the flesh," Jesus Christ. How august the destiny of conformity to Him! and how does this ratify our idea of "lost or latent powers of the five senses"!

3. We have all been witness or have heard of premanifestations of the heavenly state on this hither side. I select one out of many known to me. Miss A. B. was dying of consumption. Within a short time of her death, a radiance suddenly overspread her face, as if a gleam of morning sunshine had fallen upon it. She cried out in a rapture of joy, "O my Saviour, I am coming!" And then turning to her friends, as if amazed at their unmovedness, she asked, "Do you not see Him? It is heaven to see Him." She spoke as collectedly and sensibly as when in health. I dare not say there was not reality there. I find in it something as if the bird-soul in the close of Blair's *Grave* saw the sun rising in the east. Dr. John Macfarlane's *Night Lamp* tells as striking a thing of his dying sister Agnes.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

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of such a passage as that always quoted in defence of this procedure, Numbers xxiii. 13, in which Balak says to Balaam μέρος τι ὄψει, πάντας δὲ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃς, and where, to keep the negative in close connexion with the verb, would make Balak contradict himself: "a part shalt thou see, but all shalt thou not-see," *i.e.* "none shalt thou see." Or we are referred to such words as those of Romans iii. 20, οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ, where the tendency of the Hebrew mind to connect with the verb the negative belonging to the subject is thought to be illustrated. This solution of the difficulty however is extremely doubtful. Its possibility is indeed denied in the strongest terms by, amongst others, Winer and Meyer.[1] But even though it were grammatically possible, it is rendered wholly inadmissible on account of the double meaning which it puts into ἀλλαγησόμεθα—that of a change in some by transformation, in others by resurrection. Nothing can well be more certain than that, throughout the passage (comp. especially ver. 53, where the two acts are clearly distinguished), that verb is used in one sense alone, the sense of change by *transformation*. In these circumstances there seems to be no alternative but to abide by the simple and natural meaning of the words, and to understand the Apostle as saying, "We all (*i.e.* all included in the πάντες) shall not

[1] A moment's consideration indeed may show us that Num. xxiii. 13 is no proper parallel to the present passage. There can be there no mistake as to the meaning, the first part of the sentence stating distinctly that Balaam shall see only a part of the host. With this the second part of the sentence must agree. Nor does it make any difference in the thought of that second part whether we connect the negative with the πάντας or the ἴδῃς: "not all shalt thou see," or "all (the emphasis lying on this word) shalt thou not see." That the second passage, Rom. iii. 20, is equally useless for the purpose for which it is referred to appears from this, that if we traject the negative, connecting it with the subject of the verb, instead of the verb itself, we obtain a sense utterly at variance with the statement which the Apostle is concerned to prove: "Wherefore by the works of the law shall be justified not all flesh," or "not all flesh shall be justified," *i.e.* "some flesh shall be justified." It would seem, therefore, as if both these passages were improperly appealed to for the object they are supposed to serve.

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fall asleep, but we all (*i.e.* all again included in the πάντες) shall be changed."

The propriety of so rendering is confirmed by one or two different considerations that may be noticed before speaking of the difficulty to which the rendering gives rise. (*a*) It preserves the connexion between the negative and the verb, as in 1 John ii. 19, "They went out, that they might be made manifest how that they all are not of us," where it is not so much the object of the Apostle to say that there are false members of the Christian community, as to say that none of those who, by going out, prove themselves to be so, ever really belonged to it. Although the order of the words in St. John is slightly different (yet only as regards emphasis) from that of the words before us, the negative is thus to be closely connected with its verb. So also 1 John ii. 21, "Every lie is-not (οὐκ ἔστι) of the truth"; *i.e.* it is the essence of every lie that it does not spring from the truth. (*b*) The rendering now defended strictly preserves the same meaning for πάντες in both clauses. The persons of whom it is asserted that they shall not die are the very same persons of whom it is said that they shall be changed. We all, whoever we are, shall not die, but we shall all be changed. (*c*) It preserves what would appear to be almost the technical meaning of ἀλλαγησόμεθα in vers. 51 and 52; for, as has been already stated, that word is so used as to make it impossible to include under it the "change" which is to take effect upon those who have been asleep or dead. Besides which, the idea of "change" will not suit the condition of the dead. Change supposes something to be changed, a person on whom the change is to operate. But the dead are buried out of sight. They have returned to corruption. They are not there to be changed. What they need is to be raised up in another form; and that resurrection they shall experience. This "change," whatever may be said to the contrary, cannot include resurrection.

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It refers only to transmutation. (*d*) Thus preserving the special meaning of the word "changed," we preserve also the distinction clearly drawn in ver. 52 between the *νεκροί* and the *ἡμεῖς*. (*e*) We have a meaning of precisely that kind which would be likely to startle the Church, and to lead it insensibly to modify the Greek. (*f*) On the other supposition the whole difficulty, to be immediately referred to, is not removed. From the *ἡμεῖς* of ver. 52 St. Paul cannot exclude himself. The meaning of the words can hardly be any other than this, that none of the "we all" shall die, that all of the "we all" shall be changed.

It is not to be denied that we are thus face to face with a very serious difficulty. We seem to be forced by the principles of fair exegesis to make St. Paul say in a distinct and positive manner what has been contradicted by fact; and we make him say this too at a time when to any observer his statement must have appeared to be at variance with what was actually passing around him. Can the Apostle really intend to convey to us the assurance that the last Christian of that generation who was to pass through the gate of the grave had already died? Was no other to follow into the valley of the shadow of death? And can he say this at a moment when, in all probability, many Christians at Corinth were "weak and sickly, and not a few were falling asleep" (*κοιμῶνται*, 1 Cor. xi. 30)? Is it so that, according to the statement of the Apostle, there was to be no more death, and that all believers had only to wait for a more or less immediate "change"? To say the least of it, this is exceedingly unlike St. Paul; and not only so, it is out of keeping with that mind of Christ which we know to have been his authority, and which he so often shows us he had made his own. Let the following observations be considered:

1. It does not seem difficult to account for the peculiar form of the expression, for the negative instead of the posi-

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tive form, "we shall not-sleep." Throughout his whole previous argument the Apostle had dealt with *sleeping* or dying as the main point of the great transition he had in view. The perplexity in the minds of his readers did not present itself in the form, "What if we shall not be alive?" so much as in the form, "What if we shall not have died?" Hence he is led to designate those of whom he is thinking, not as persons who shall be alive, but as persons who shall not-have-died.

2. But what of the πάντες? What of a statement so universal, and apparently applied without any limitation to himself and the men around him? The explanation is to be found in St. Paul's habit of thought and in the mode in which, under the influence of that habit, he is led to express himself. When a thought takes possession of his mind, it wholly fills it. He can look at it only in one light, and apart from the qualifications and limitations with which, in cooler and less eager minds, it would naturally be associated. What he dwells upon starts up before him like a picture, the canvas of which is entirely occupied with one conception. The picture is his own. He is in the midst of it. He is one with the figures filling it. For the time he is incapable of admitting any thought by which the leading idea of the picture would require to be balanced, if we are to have all the truth. Illustrations of this habit in its more general form are so numerous and so commonly admitted, that it is unnecessary to speak of them. It is more to our present purpose to refer to one in this very chapter, in which the same word πάντες is treated exactly as it is here. At ver. 22 we read, "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive." No statement could be more general, and both the use made of it and the conclusions deduced from it in that form are well known. Yet nothing can be more certain than that "all" here is not "all" in its universal aspect. Those intended are only

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"all" to the Apostle. Whence comes this? His mind was filled in the verses coming immediately before with the thought of those who wake from their sleep to be presented along with Christ, the firstfruits, to the Father, with the thought of those who share with the risen Saviour the resurrection of the dead. He had been gazing on them as they passed before him, a glorious army, clothed in all the splendour which he afterwards endeavours to describe by speaking of "this corruptible putting on incorruption, and this mortal putting on immortality" (ver. 53). The canvas is full; not another figure can find a place in it; these sons of the resurrection morning are all upon whom he can fix his thoughts, and he cries out, though having reference to them alone, "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive."

It is precisely the same thing here. At ver. 50, as we have already seen, St. Paul had been speaking of concrete living Christians as contrasted with Christians who had died. The latter were a complete class; so then also are the former. They come before the Apostle in all their perplexity, as for the moment they think, not only that they may not, but that they will not die. Is there no hope for them? St. Paul identifies himself with them. He is in the midst of a new company, and the company of such as had died is forgotten. He is one with the new company, and he makes the new company one with him. We are to live, he exclaims; by the supposition we are not to die. "We all" belong to those who are not to fall asleep. What then? We belong to those who in that case will be changed; and our hope is as sure and precious as that of others. This power of identifying himself with others is a true trait of the great Apostle. "Who," he exclaims, writing on one occasion to the Corinthian Church, "is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I burn not?" (2 Cor. xi. 29;) and in this very epistle, "To the

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Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law, that I might gain them that are without law; to the weak I became weak, that I might gain the weak: I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some" (1 Cor. ix. 20–22). It is by no means necessary, therefore, to think that the Apostle lays it down as a fact, that none of the men of that generation would die. It might have been so. It might be so with the men of this generation. None of us knows the hour when the Lord cometh, and no one knows that better of his own day than St. Paul knew it of his day. Enough that he is dealing with one half only of a great truth. The first half had been disposed of. Christians who die shall rise to a more glorious life. The second half comes next. Christians who do not die shall be fitted for the Divine glory by being changed.

Let us paraphrase the Apostle's words: "I have been dealing with the thought of death as of that crisis in the believer's history through which he passes from the corruption, the dishonour, and the weakness of earth to the incorruption, the glory, and the power of the future and heavenly life; and I have spoken as I have done because the difficulties proposed to me had reference to the condition of the departed. 'How are the dead raised up? and with what manner of body do they come?' Do not imagine, however, that I am insensible to the fact that the second coming of the Lord of which I have so often spoken in my teaching will find many of His people alive upon the earth. They, it is true, shall not die. They shall not pass through that grave which is the ultimate form of the seed-bed out of which, like grains of wheat springing up into the plant, Christians who have died shall spring up into their future glorious estate. Those who

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have died shall not on that account anticipate them. They shall be changed." And then he passes on, with a full mind unburdening itself, to some of the particulars of the change.

It will take place "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." There is no need to dwell upon the figure employed in the second of these clauses, which is obviously intended to bring out, like the "moment" spoken of, the suddenness of the change. There is no gradual development, no process of refining or spiritualizing of the body that may have been going on for years or centuries. Whatever may have happened in that way in no degree interferes with the instantaneousness of the final issue. This instantaneousness may indeed startle us, but there is also much that may help us to appreciate, if not fully to comprehend it. The first step taken in any new and great series of events must be always sudden. It may have been long prepared for, as the gathering forces of electricity in the atmosphere prepare for the moment when the equilibrium shall be restored; but, when that is restored, it is with the suddenness of the lightning's flash. Creation, in whatever form we think of it, whether as innumerable atoms in ill-assorted whirl, or as a well-ordered and harmonious system, must have been sudden. The transition from not-being to being could be nothing else. Astronomers too are familiar with great cataclysms in the history of the universe around them. They behold stars suddenly broken up, lights with which they have been long familiar disappear, and new lights come into existence. With what tremendous changes all this must have been accompanied they cannot tell; but this they know that, whatever their extent, they must have been sudden. So also now. It may help us the better to comprehend the teaching of this passage if we bear in mind that the change referred to does not take place while the ordinary processes of nature are going on with their

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usual regularity and calmness. Nature prepares us for convulsions. Scripture tells us that it is in the midst of one of these that what is here spoken of will take place. It is the day of the Lord, and "the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up" (2 Pet iii. 10). Who shall estimate aright the changes on every side, and on every object with which earth is filled, that may and must accompany this great change? To imagine man passing through it unchanged would be the difficulty, and whatever change takes place will certainly be "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye."

Another mark of the great era in human history spoken of is added by the Apostle—"at the last trump." The trumpet is the same as that of which we read in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, when it is there said that "the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God" (chap. iv. 16). Still more particularly, it is that of which our Lord Himself spoke to His disciples in His discourse upon the last things: "And He shall send forth His angels with the great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other" (Matt. xxiv. 31). This gathering together of Christ's elect is now before the Apostle's eye; and the sounding of the trumpet long and loud,—so long that the sound travels to every region of the earth, so loud that it penetrates the deepest chambers of the tomb—is to him the symbol of the gathering.

The greatness of the occasion, too, is increased by the circumstance that this trumpet shall then sound for the "last" time. It had sounded at the giving of the law, so that, even amidst the thunders that re-echoed amongst

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the mountains of Horeb, it was heard "exceeding loud" (Exod. xix. 17). From the thought of it, as the suitable accompaniment of all great occasions when the Almighty manifested Himself to Israel, came no doubt its employment in connexion with the fall of Jericho, with the peculiar solemnities of the seventh month, the greatest month in Israel's sacred year, and with those solemn assemblies of the people of which it was said, "Blow the trumpet in Zion, call a solemn assembly" (Joel ii. 15). All along the history of Israel it had been associated with the most momentous events which befell that people. But this sounding shall be the "last." The trumpet will be no more needed to accompany the giving of a law, for the law has been written upon the Christian heart; no more needed to summon the Israel of God to the overthrow of hostile powers, for all Israel's enemies have been overcome; no more needed to introduce great festivals which are to last for a few days, for the Feast of Tabernacles has begun which is to endure for ever; and no more needed to call solemn assemblies soon to be broken up, for the solemn assembly now convened is never to be dissolved. Therefore this trumpet is the "last."

The heart of St. Paul appears to swell with peculiar emotion when he thinks of this feature of the great day of which he speaks, for he comes back upon it, without repeating anything that he had said of the other characteristics of the day. "For," he adds, "the trumpet shall sound."

Then follows the effect, "And the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." The two classes of which he had been speaking are still before him,—the dead, and they who are alive at the Lord's coming. Of the one he says that they shall be raised, and that no longer in the state of corruption; *i.e.* of weakness and decay and liability to death in which they had lived on earth, but

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incorruptible. Of the other he says simply, without as yet specifying the characteristics of the change, "and we shall be changed." Many attempts, more or less plausible, have been made to show that under the "we" thus spoken of the Apostle does not necessarily include himself, and that he thus leaves no imputation to be made upon the accuracy of that view of the future which it is thought his inspiration must have secured to him. These attempts can hardly be said to have been successful; and all that it seems possible to contend for is, that there is no dogmatic assertion of the fact that he and the men of that generation would certainly be alive when the Lord came. As, at ver. 51, he can hardly be understood to maintain that no one of his own generation, including himself, will die before that time, so he can hardly be understood to maintain here that he and they will certainly be then alive. He may have thought it highly probable that such would be the case; and the tone of his earlier writings, as in the two epistles to the Thessalonians (for the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians teaches upon this point no other lesson than the first), confirms the impression that he did entertain some expectation of the kind. If so, we can the more easily comprehend that he should throw himself into that position in the manner we have already endeavoured to explain. But it is not easy to see why an expectation of the kind, though proved by the event to be false, should weaken our confidence in the general inspiration under which he wrote. That inspiration did not extend to the times and the seasons when the events connected with the second coming would occur. Our Lord Himself said of His coming: "But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mark xiii. 32). Even after His resurrection, and when commissioning His Apostles to their work, He said: "It is not for you to know the times or seasons, which the

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Father hath set within His own authority" (Acts i. 7). To suppose that inspiration ought to have included such knowledge is to suppose that Christ Himself was not inspired. On the other hand, if St. Paul and the Christians of those days did not know when the second coming would take place, what could they expect but that it would be immediate? Let us place ourselves in their position. Let us be persecuted, afflicted, tormented, with no prospect before us in this world but a daily dying. Let us then remember the "blessed hope" of the return of Him on whom the most ardent affections of our souls are fixed; and who, when He does return, will bring us freedom from all our troubles, rest from all our enemies, and eternal joy in His own immediate presence. Let us dwell on these things till our hearts, like those of the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, burn within us, till already the darkness of the present vanishes and the glory of the future is around us, and what other idea can we entertain but that in all probability Christ will come before we die? We shall not think of ourselves as doomed to die. The grave will not be the termination of the vista down which we look into the future. We shall see the Lord's chariot of glory already appearing and rapidly approaching: and the natural language of our lips will be, "Come quickly, Lord Jesus." The dead are dead, and shall soon awake. We shall be changed. Let us admit that St. Paul expected not to die, and we may still urge that his inspiration, in any just sense of the word, is not weakened because the expectation was not fulfilled.

All this then the apostle declares to be "a mystery" (ver. 51). It would seem that the word is not to be applied to the raising of the dead. It is applied only to the changing of the living, and perhaps to their being presented, along with Christians raised from the dead, in one blessed company to their Lord. This supposition is involved in

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the meaning of the term upon which, as used in the New Testament, there is general agreement. It is used to signify a truth unknown before, but now made known by positive revelation. In this sense it could scarcely be applied to the raising of dead Christians. Christ was risen: these must rise with Him. Their resurrection was a logical inference from accomplished and acknowledged fact, rather than a revelation. But the other half of the statement, that the living shall be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, and that then both sections of the great Christian army shall be "caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall ever be with the Lord" (1 Thess. iv. 17),—that was a revelation, a statement of the future, of things which "eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man, but unto us God revealed them through the Spirit" (1 Cor. ii. 9, 10). We complain of the darkness of the future, and in many respects it is dark. On one point we have light. Why do we so often forget it? "He that cometh will come, and will not tarry." He will come "to be glorified in His saints, and to be admired in all them that believe"; and every true member of His body shall be with Him. However long they may have slept in their graves, in whatever uttermost parts of the earth or of the sea they dwell when the trumpet sounds, not one of them shall be lost. Provision has been made for all, and we may "comfort one another with these words."

W. MILLIGAN.

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"IT BECAME HIM."

(HEB. II. 10.)

THE thought expressed by the three words, "It became Him," is so contrary to modern feeling, and has been so much overlooked by modern exposition, that it is worth our while to examine it carefully. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews plainly states in these words his conviction that the sufferings and death of the incarnate Word were suitable to the greatness of God. He says: "It became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Author of their salvation perfect through suffering." This is a distinct statement that the sufferings of Christ were in harmony with the greatness of God. A remarkable assertion, and one which at first view excites wonder and doubt. If the writer, in order to prove his point, had appealed to the love of God, his argument would have satisfied the mind of the reader very readily; but when he declares that the pain of Christ was becoming to the nature of God, because God is the absolute Being, he seems only to create a difficulty.

The description of God given in this passage, as the Being "for whom are all things, and through whom are all things," is one which would be received more or less perfectly by most thinkers of our century. It is a definition which appeals at once to the modern mind. But at the same time this conception of God—a conception which lifts Him infinitely above the level of men—is one great reason why moderns have so much difficulty in believing in Jesus Christ as a real revelation of the God-head. When God is regarded as the infinite, eternal source of all nature, and when nature is thought of in all the immensity revealed by

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modern science—an immensity of space in which the earth is but a speck, an infinity of evolution in which the whole history of man is but an incident—it seems, at first sight, an absurdity to speak of the humble, painful life and death of Jesus of Nazareth as a revelation of the Deity. Yet it is to this very conception of God's greatness that the appeal is made in the words, "It became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Author of their salvation perfect through suffering."

The first consideration suggested by this difficulty is that the writers of both Testaments never separate the moral greatness of God from His greatness in nature. In this thought the two are inseparably united. It is unnecessary to pause in order to prove this at length. Hebrew thought everywhere looks at God's relation to the world from the moral and spiritual standpoint; and in the New Testament the Divine offices of our Lord as Saviour of men are almost always described in physical language. And so we are doing no violence to the sense of the passage if we understand the writer to mean that the method of redemption harmonizes with that supreme moral splendour which must belong to Him for whom and through whom are all things. To the apostolic mind God's infinite greatness in nature carries with it, as a matter of course, a moral character equally elevated.

The modern mind, on the contrary, is so overwhelmed in the immensity of the physical facts and conceptions accumulated by recent discovery, that it has almost lost the sense of the supremacy of morals. The ordinary devotee of evolution has not grasped the first thought of Pascal's *Pensées* that even though the universe crush man, yet man is greater than the universe, for he knows he is crushed. And still more does the evolutionist fail to understand how completely man is raised above the merely physical by his

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faculty of estimating moral value. Once it is learned how fundamental is the position which the synthetical unity of the *ego* occupies in all knowledge, the supremacy of the spiritual is established; and very soon a further step will be taken, and it will be understood that the infinite Power behind nature is not a mere unknowable absolute, but a being of whom must be predicated intelligence and morality. And then will appear the truth and value of Rabbi ben Ezra's confidence:

> "Rejoice we are allied
> To that which doth provide
> And not partake, effect and not receive!
> A spark disturbs our clod;
> Nearer we hold of God
> Who gives, than of his tribes that take, I must believe."

When we have thus gained a standpoint from which a modern student of philosophy can appreciate the thought and feeling of the apostolic age, we are in a position to examine the remarkable assertion of the passage before us, that the sufferings of Christ were in harmony with the greatness of God.

We have just had a glimpse of a very good reason why the intelligent and moral nature of man can be regarded as a more or less imperfect index to the nature of God. Let us then in the present instance guide ourselves by this index, remembering only that the infinite greatness of God may multiply indefinitely the persuasive force of a motive.

In this place an illustration may be useful. Suppose that a man falls into grievous sin and consequent misery, and that his evil case comes to the knowledge of another, who feels bound to do his best to save the sinner. It is obvious that the first thing the would be deliverer must do is to enter into sympathy with the object of his pity. And the stronger the relations of sympathy he establishes, the greater his chance of success. But it is not enough that

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he should be able to sympathise with the sinner, the sinner must be made to feel that sympathy. Now it may be perfectly true that God, knowing as He does the thoughts of all hearts, is by His very nature in perfect sympathy with every human soul, but how is man to be made to feel the reality and intensity of the Divine sympathy? When a good man desires to make some degraded fellow creature aware of his brotherly feelings, he is ready to sacrifice himself and his pleasures in many ways, in order to attain that end; and often it needs great self-denial and long-suffering before a hardened sinner can be brought to feel that some one better, happier, and more fortunate than himself really takes an interest in him and desires his improvement. And in all such cases, the greater the moral nature of the benevolent man, the more profound will be his sympathy and the greater his self-sacrifice.

Now the climax of such sympathy and such self-sacrifice is the incarnation of Christ. It is impossible to imagine anything more God-like. Just as God transcends men in wisdom, power, and goodness, so does the incarnation transcend every possible human action as an expression of sympathy with the fallen. We cannot conceive anything better calculated to convince the sinner of God's interest in him. The very greatness of the sympathy which could express itself in such a manner makes it suitable to God. To suppose it improbable that God should do such a thing is to think meanly of His moral nature. It is not honouring Him to imagine Him incapable of such an action, nor is it a lofty conception of His greatness to think Him too little in His sympathy to become man.

But we cannot cut short our argument at the incarnation. That great miracle was but the introduction to a life of poverty and suffering and a death of shame. In former days it appeared a strange thing to men that the most Divine life ever lived on earth was a humble, suffer-

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ing life of self-abnegation, crowned by a dishonoured death. To the Jews it was a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness. And surely it must have seemed a strange thing that any could believe such a life and death the most noble of human histories! A Solomon who adorned his regal splendour with moral purity as well as superhuman wisdom would seem to the average mind a much more suitable Christ than the poor, despised Prophet of Nazareth. In contrast with this very natural feeling we ought to be thankful to observe how unanimously the best thinkers of our time, whether Christian or not, agree that the picture of the suffering Messiah, as afforded to the imagination in the life of Jesus, is the highest and holiest model ever presented for human imitation.

We have seen that when one man wishes to lift another from degradation, he must be prepared for self-denial. Through suffering of some sort the saviour must approach the sinner, in order to touch the heart and gain its confidence. And the greater the moral nature of the saviour, the greater the sacrifice which he will be willing to make for the object of his pity. There have been men who renounced all the joys of life, and gave them up for ever, that they might help the miserable or raise the fallen; and when we have heard of them our hearts have been stirred to their depths at the thought of such greatness, and we have felt that nothing could better prove true nobility of soul than willingness to enter upon great and continued suffering for the sake of others. Let the same principle be applied to the life of Christ. He voluntarily enters upon a long course of the most terrible suffering, both of body and mind, for the sake of debased creatures who do not love Him. His suffering exceeds all other suffering, and His self-denial all other self-denial; and for that very reason His life is becoming to the greatness of God.

The death of Christ is but the crowning proof of this

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divinity of His life. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." In every such instance in which one man dies for another we are convinced we have seen a hero, a man of surpassing greatness. But the death of Christ goes beyond every other heroic death. In all its circumstances it is, as an act of self-sacrifice, worthy of the supreme goodness. It is becoming to "Him for whom are all things, and through whom are all things." It is, in one word, Divine.

Perhaps it may be objected that the infinitely great difference between God and man cuts the ground from under this probability. The incarnation, it may be urged, is improbable, in spite of the Divine heroism of Christ, because God is the infinite, all-embracing Absolute, while man is finite in all his conditions and circumstances. The difference, it will be said, is one of kind, not of degree. There is no doubt indeed that it would utterly vitiate the argument if it were admitted that the difference between God and man is altogether one of kind, and not of degree. That is, to get rid of the ambiguity of expression, if it were admitted that God and man have no attributes in common. The agnostic view of God's nature as unknowable—an absolute completely out of relation to man's thinking faculties—destroys, of course, every attempt to reason from the human to the Divine, and makes revelation impossible. But from the Christian stand-point, which rests upon faith in God's intelligence and goodness, and which, let us thankfully acknowledge, is quite in harmony with the best philosophical thought of Germany and England, the great difference between God and man will be found but to heighten the probability. For if the terms intelligence and morality can be applied to God in the same sense as to man, and if, at the same time, it be remembered that where man is finite God is infinite, then it becomes evident that a degree of goodness and

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self-sacrifice which would seem impossible to us is but suitable to the greatness of God.

Suppose, for instance, that a man became aware of a race of creatures, gifted with intelligent and moral faculties, but infinitely below men in all their conditions, some insect tribe, hateful and disgusting in their habits. Suppose that he found it would be possible to sacrifice the dignity and comforts of manhood and become one of them, and enter into their life and degradation, and by so doing raise them to a vastly higher condition. Could any man be found to make so great a sacrifice? It is not likely. And for this reason, that, if such a deed were possible, men are not great enough to sacrifice themselves on behalf of beings so far below them. We should draw back from such a sacrifice, because our moral stature is not grand enough. It would take a nobler morality than man has yet attained to act in so God-like a fashion.

Now such a supposition gives but a faint image of the sacrifice Christ made in His incarnation and death. Yet that sacrifice is not thereby rendered improbable, but all the more worthy of "Him for whom are all things, and through whom are all things." The life and death of Christ as depicted in the gospels and expounded by the writers of the New Testament is, in fact, worthy of the greatness of God, and of His greatness alone.

At the present day unbelieving thought may be divided roughly into two classes. One, agnostic, revelling in mere physical evolution, and thoughtlessly and hastily dismissing all philosophical and theological inquiry as so much waste of intellect. The other, whether basing its belief on transcendental criticism or not, holds firmly to faith in God and the reality of man's spiritual existence; but denies, with a sort of wondering incredulity, the superhuman elements in the life of Christ. To minds of the latter class the passage before us should make a strong appeal. It

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provides a connecting link between their philosophy and the fulness of Christian faith. If they believe in God's intelligence and moral nature, they ought surely to pause before rejecting as false the history of a superhuman life which is in harmony with their own conception of Deity, which comes to them enforced by a vast body of evidence, which has been the primal source of spiritual inspiration to the best men of the best races for nearly two thousand years, and which has nothing opposed to it but a prejudice that the miraculous can never have happened because it does not happen in our ordinary experience.

CHARLES F. D'ARCY.

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THE SINNER'S PROGRESS.

"Let no man when he is tempted say, 'I am tempted of God'; for God is incapable of evil, and He tempteth no man. But every man is tempted when he is drawn aside by his own lust, and enticed: then the lust, having conceived, bringeth forth sin; and the sin, when it is mature, bringeth forth death."—JAMES i. 13–15.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH has found a proof of the depravity of man where few men would have looked for it, in the history of words. He points out that many words, which when first used had an innocent and even commendable meaning, have come by use to carry a doubtful or malignant sense; and in this degradation of our words he sees a proof and illustration of human depravity. If we taint and soil the words we commonly employ, that can only be because they pass through polluted lips. Words express character; and if our words sink into a lower and baser sense as we use them, it is because they are weighted with some evil bias from our character and lives.

The word "temptation," both in Greek and English, is a case in point. According to its derivation and original use, the word simply means "test," whatever tends to excite, to draw out and bring to the surface, the hidden contents of the heart, whatever serves to indicate the ruling bent. The heart of man is the home of a multitude of thoughts, desires, impulses, affections, many of which are contrary the one to the other; so that at times even we ourselves cannot tell what our ruling bent is, or what our true moral complexion. And any event, any touch of circumstance or occasion, which compels these conflicting impulses and passions to assort and organize themselves, and thus show us what our ruling bent really is, is a temptation. It is called a temptation, simply because it puts us to the proof, and reveals what manner of spirit we are of. But in process of time the word has come to

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have a darker significance. For if there is much that is good in us, there is also much that is evil. And because, in their intercourse with each other, men are too often bent on provoking that which is evil in each other, rather than on eliciting and strengthening that which is good, the word "temptation" has sunk from its original plane, and has come to signify mainly such testings and trials of character as are designed to draw out the evil that is in us; trials and tests skilfully adapted to our besetting infirmities, and likely to develop the lower and baser qualities of our nature.

These, then, are the two meanings of the word "temptation." At first it denoted only a moral test, a test intended to prove and reveal inward character, whether it were good or bad. But it has come to denote moral, or immoral, tests which appeal to the baser elements of our nature, to lower character and pollute it. It is because of this double meaning of the word that we meet in Scripture such apparently contradictory phrases as, "Lead us not into temptation," and, "Count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations."

It is in this double meaning of the word, moreover, that we find the key to the apparently contradictory statements that God does tempt men, and that He does not tempt them. He does tempt us all in the sense that He puts us all to the proof, and compels us at times to see what manner of men we are. And it was in this sense, no doubt, that He tempted Abraham. So far as we can collect the story from the ancient record, Abraham had grown so fond of the son of his old age, that he could not tell which was his ruling affection, love for Isaac or love for Jehovah. He seems to have brought his doubt, his fear, to God, to have asked that he might be kept from loving his son more than he loved his Father in heaven. For God could not have tempted him in order that He Himself, the All-seeing

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and All-wise, should learn which was the stronger affection of the two. It must have been for Abraham's sake that the trial came, to solve *his* doubt, to remove his fear. And the trial was of a kind which could not fail to show him what his ruling affection was. He was called, or he thought himself called, to sacrifice his only and beloved son. When he had met such a test as this, he could no longer doubt that God held the supreme place in his heart.

"But suppose he had failed to meet so severe a test?"

Well, even in that case, would it not have been merciful to expose him to it? If Abraham *was* failing in his loyalty to Heaven, if God no longer stood first with him, was it not better that he should know it, and so be led to repent his sin, than that he should be left to deceive himself till he utterly fell away from God? Would it not, even in that case, have been kind of God to put him to the proof, to teach him what he was and where he stood?

As God tempted Abraham, so He tempts us. He applies to us the test of opportunity, brings us into conditions in which we *must* disclose our true nature, our supreme affection, and show whether we do, or do not, love Him and His will above all else. In either case, His end, His purpose, is merciful and gracious. If we stand the test, our faith comes out of the fire all the stronger and purer, and we touch the joy of those who have "endured." If we fail—if we love, and show that we love, the gain a lie will bring us more than the truth by which we may lose, or the praise of men more than the blessing of God, or the comforts of life more than the hope of immortality; if, in short, we cannot *endure* the trials which make men perfect,—is it not better that we should know it, that we should become conscious of the fatal weakness which, but for our failure, we might never have suspected, and so be driven to seek strength from on high? We are wont to live so negligently, to give entertainment to so many

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various and often injurious affections and desires, that we perpetually need seasons of testing and self-manifestation, in order that we may know ourselves as we are, and be moved to self-condemnation and self-amendment.

But if, in this sense, God tempts every man, there is a sense in which "He tempts no man." For it is never the design of the trials to which He puts us to bring out and confirm that which is evil in us. Men may try to irritate us, to excite our passions, to pamper our lusts; but God never. It is always His purpose to bring out and confirm that which is good in us; or, if He show us wherein we are weak, it is not that we may remain weak and foolish, but that we may seek and find strength and wisdom in Him.

When we have fallen into "temptation," in the bad sense of that word—when, that is, we have yielded to an evil influence, and have suffered our baser passions to be excited,—we are apt to say, "I am tempted of God," to plead: "Well, after all, *He* made me what I am. Am *I* to blame for my passionate temperament, or for the strength and fierceness of my desires?" Or, again, we say: "Circumstances were against me. The opportunity was too tempting, my need or my craving was too importunate, to be resisted. And are not our circumstances and condition appointed by Him?" Thus we charge God foolishly, knowing and feeling all the while that it is we ourselves who are to blame whenever the lower part of our nature is permitted a supremacy against which the higher part protests. The forger pleads his poverty, the drunkard his insatiable thirst; but they both know that, before they yielded and became what they are, a thousand alarms were sounded in their breast, and that God was striving with them through these alarms, and that they might have resisted the temptation had they trusted in Him and trained themselves in self-denial and self-control.

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God tempts no man, affirms St. James, and assigns as a reason, "for God is *unversed* in evil," or "God is *incapable* of evil," or "God is *untemptable* with evil"; for in these three several ways this one word is translated. His implied argument is sufficiently clear, however we may render his words. What he assumes is, "Every one who tempts another to do evil must have some evil in his own nature. But there is no shadow or taint of evil in God, and therefore it is impossible that God should tempt any man." To us, the absolute goodness of God is a mere truism. But we must remember that, to the early Christians, it would not be so mere a truism as it is to us. The gods whom their neighbours worshipped had much that was base and fierce and sensual in them. *They* were by no means unversed in evil or incapable of it. And hence they often tempted men, or were even tempted by them. It is against this dark heathen background that St. James writes, in letters of light, of a God unpractised in evil, incapable of it, and who can neither tempt men nor be tempted. The argument is unimpeachable. For if God is absolutely devoid of evil, if He is of an absolute goodness, it cannot be His will that any man should fall.

But if the evil temptations we have to encounter do not come from God, whence do they come? What is their true origin and source?

To this question St. James replies, "*Every man is tempted when he is drawn aside of his own lust, and enticed*"—the man's lust being here conceived of as a harlot who lavishes her blandishments upon him; "*then the lust, having conceived, bringeth forth sin; and the sin, when it is mature, bringeth forth death.*" The origin of sin is in man's own breast, in his own hot and extravagant desires for any kind of temporal or sensual good; and the Apostle traces the sinner's career through the successive steps that lead down to death.

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First, the man is *drawn aside*. James conceives of him as occupied with his daily task, busily discharging the duties of his daily calling. While he is thus engaged, a craving for some unlawful or excessive gratification, for a gain that cannot be honestly secured, or an indulgence which cannot be taken soberly and in the fear of God, springs up within his mind. The craving haunts his mind, and takes form in it. He bends his regards on it, and is drawn towards it. At first, perhaps, his will is firm, and he refuses to yield to its attraction. But the craving is very strong; it touches him at his weak point. And when it comes back to him again and again, it swells and grows into what St. James calls a "lust." It is "his *own* lust," the passion most native to him, and most potent with such as he—the love of gain, or the love of rule, or the love of distinction, or some affection of a baser strain. It may be any one of these, but it is *his own*, that which is most special and familiar with him. For a time he may resist its fascination; but ere long his work is laid aside, the claims of duty are neglected, the warnings of conscience unheeded. He has, indeed, no definite intention of abandoning the ways of duty and peace; he would be indignant with you were you to charge him with any such intention. He will be back in a moment. All he means is to get a nearer view of this strange, alluring visitor, to lift its veil, to see what it is like and for what intent it beckons him away. And so he takes his first step: he is *drawn aside* from the clear and beaten path of duty.

Then he is *enticed*, "allured," as the Greek word implies, "with pleasant baits." His craving waxes stronger, the object of desire more attractive, as he advances. It spreads out all its enchantments before him, while all that might repel him is carefully concealed. All specious excuses—all that moralists have allowed or bold transgressors have claimed—are urged upon him, until at last his scruples are

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overborne, and he yields himself a willing captive to his lust.

Then lust "*conceives.*" The will consents to the wish; the evil desire grows toward an evil deed. Peace has forsaken him. He can know no rest till his craving be gratified. All homely, loyal toils, all simple, innocent delights, lose their charm. The good work in which he was occupied looks tame and wearisome to him. He is fevered by passion, and absorbed in it.

Having conceived, "*lust bringeth forth sin.*" The bad purpose has become a bad deed, and the bad deed is followed by its natural results. Coming to the light, his evil deeds may be reproved. When the sin is born, the man may recognise his guilt. He may repent, and be forgiven and restored. If he be a good man momentarily led astray, he *will* be saved; for "the Lord knoweth how to deliver *the godly* out of temptation," even when they have succumbed to it. To Him that seeth in secret he will confess his secret sin. Humbled, penitent, suffering, yet not without hope, he will retrace his steps, resume his work.

But if he do not turn and repent, the last step will be taken, and *sin, being matured, will bring forth death.* Action will grow into habit, the sinful action into a habit of sinning. As sin grows and matures, it will rob him of his energy. He will no longer make a stand against temptation. He will wholly surrender himself to his lust, until all that makes him man dies out of him, and only the fierce, brutal craving remains.

Hogarth has left us a familiar series of pictures entitled "The Rake's Progress," in which the career of a profligate spendthrift is sketched from its commencement to its close. Were I an artist, I would paint you a similar series on a kindred but wider theme, *The Sinner's Progress.*

In the first you should see a man comely with health and

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stalwart with honest toil, with all the tokens of homely comfort and cheerful, prosperous labour about him. He should stand at his work-bench surrounded by the products of his skill, the tools of his craft in one hand while, with the other, in a welcome pause of labour, he wipes the sweat from his brow. Through casement and door he should look out on green meadows, watered by a running, songful brook, on trees and flowers, and a heaven the brighter for its cloud, with whatever else might serve to suggest the content and peace of a wholesome and upward-tending life. But gazing on him through the open casement, and seeming to beckon him away, there should stand the fair, alluring wanton who is to work him so much woe (*Spring*).

In the second your eye should rest on the pleasant, secluded spot, hard by the brook and overarched with trees, to which she had led his wandering steps. Half hidden by the lush grass and wild flowers, there should lie the temptress, lavishing on him her charms and wiles, while on his face you should read the passionate lines of the conflict between duty and desire (*Summer*).

In the third you should see these two, parents now, returned to his old home, and, with them, their foul and deformed offspring, Sin: she despoiled of every charm; he, moody, weary of her, desperate of himself, with no heart for his former toils and no success in them, his face darkening with the prophetic shadows of coming doom (*Autumn*).

In the last, sad scene of all, the homestead should lie waste and overrun with weeds, the home desolate and tumbling to decay, the leafless branches torn and rent by wintry winds, the swift musical stream mute and chained by frost; within, webs, rags, broken and rusted tools, with all the signs of squalid penury, to suggest the bitter history of years. And as you peered into the gloom of the background two figures — but only two, for Lust is long since dead—should come duskily into view: the wretched

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father lying wan and bleeding on the ground, and, standing over him, the Sin which he had begotten and fostered, his hand raised to smite the fatal blow (*Winter*).

For then you would have before you, not only the thought of the apostle, but *the very figures in which that thought clothed itself* when he penned this passage on the origin of sin and the pedigree of death.

Here, then, we may see both our danger and our safety. God sends us trials in our temperaments and conditions, and in the changes and opportunities through which we pass. Not only has He planted in our nature animal appetites and desires, He has also given us ambitions and affections, which are innocent and commendable when they are lawfully indulged. And, in His providence, He brings us to crises and tests which put our manhood to the proof, and show whether or not we have learned to rule and deny ourselves, and can subordinate that which is sensual in us to that which is spiritual, that which is temporal to that which is eternal. It is natural that we should love the comforts and pleasures of life, that we should pursue the gains by which they are brought within our reach. It is natural that we should love society, the good opinion of our neighbours, and even the distinction of being raised in some worthy way above the crowd. But our danger is lest we should seek any one of these, or any similar ends, with an undue eagerness, by unlawful or dishonourable means, and so permit it to become a "lust" to which we must sacrifice principle, conviction, and the sense of duty, caring more for it than for the love and service of God and man. God's end in trying us, in sending opportunities which disclose our ruling bent, is that we may endure them well, that we may let them work patience and self-mastery in us, that we may become perfect and entire, lacking nothing, and,

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as being perfect, may receive the crown of life. But, alas! every one of us has his own special lust, some craving which we find it very hard to resist; and when the trial comes, instead of meeting it and surmounting it, we may suffer ourselves to be drawn aside and enticed; we may fall into a sin, and so into a habit of sinning, that will only too surely bring forth death. And thus, by our fatal weakness, we may reach the very opposite end to that which God intended to lead us; we may drown ourselves in sin and perdition instead of rising into a crowned and victorious life. Do we not all know men who, even if they are not killing their bodies, are killing their souls by intemperance and dissipation, or by a too eager pursuit of wealth and distinction, or even by a too close and absorbing addiction to the duties of an honourable vocation?

If *we* are not thus losing our life in the attempt to gain it, it is not because there is not in us the evil proneness which is working death in them; but because, by the grace of God, we have been guarded from its worst and most fatal effects, because in some poor measure we have been made partakers of the Divine nature which is incapable of evil. In this, and in this alone, lies our safety. We must become, as St. Paul phrases it, "partakers of Christ and of God," if we would not pass through temptation and lust and sin to death. Or, as St. Peter phrases it, we must become "partakers of the Divine nature" if we would escape "the corruption that is in the world *through lust*." Our natural cravings are so strong and constant, and habit soon acquires so great a force in us, that nothing short of the energies of a Divine life in the soul will enable us to rule our cravings or to break from the bondage of habit. And this Divine life is offered to us in Christ Jesus, who took our nature upon Him, that "we might be filled with all the fulness of God."

S. Cox.

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THE PARABLES OF JUDGMENT.

(MATT. XXIV. 45–XXV. 46 ; LUKE XII. 35–48.)

THE Gospel of St. Matthew is not so much a biography of our Lord, as an account of His teaching set in a comparatively slight framework of biography; and it is generally agreed that St. Matthew has not endeavoured to relate the discourses in the order in which they were actually spoken, but rather in such an order that they may throw light on each other. This is no disparagement of the evangelist's inspiration; on the contrary, we have no doubt he was guided in his arrangement of his Lord's discourses by the same Holy Spirit who "spake by the prophets."

St. Matthew has ended his account of the Lord's teaching with a group of consecutive discourses, parabolic in form, and having for their subject the Lord's coming in judgment at the end of the present dispensation. These we call the Parables of Judgment;—this description applies to the account of the judgment of all nations with which chapter xxv. concludes, as well as to the rest; they all describe spiritual realities through visual imagery, and this is the definition of a parable. There are however other Parables of Judgment, notably that of the Wheat and the Tares, and that of the Draw-net, which belong to an early period of our Lord's teaching.

It is perhaps commonly thought that the concluding parables of St. Matthew's Gospel are three: the parable of the Ten Virgins, that of the Talents, and that of the Sheep and the Goats. This however is a mistake, due to the inappropriate division of the chapters. There is no break at the end of chap. xxiv., except the ending of one parable and the commencement of another. The concluding Parables of Judgment are not three but four, and

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they begin with what may be called the parable of the Faithful Steward, chap. xxiv. 45–51. This is not usually called a parable, because it is not introduced as such; but it is so in substance. It occurs with very little difference in St. Luke xii. 42–48, where the word *steward* occurs; the corresponding word in St. Matthew is *bondservant* (margin of Revised Version), but there is no inconsistency, for the steward in Eastern households was often a slave, who, though promoted to be a steward, did not cease to be a slave.

The conversation in which these parables occur took place, according to St. Matthew's narrative, on the Mount of Olives, a very few days before the Lord's death; only Peter, James, John, and Andrew were with Him, and it began with this question, when the destruction of Jerusalem and His second coming were to be. The first part of His reply is confessedly a very difficult passage, but its chief lessons are plainly these:—Not to seek after signs and wonders; to preserve a spirit of faith and patience, because the trials of His people on earth would be long and severe; and to continue in habitual watchfulness, "for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh" (ver. 44). At this point in the discourse the Parables of Judgment begin with that of the Faithful Steward.

From St. Luke however it would appear that this parable was spoken by our Lord to His disciples before His last journey to Jerusalem; and supposing this to be historically correct, as most probably it is, St. Matthew has recorded it, not in its historical, but in its logical connexion. According to St. Luke it was spoken by our Lord in reply to a question by Peter, which was itself suggested by a previous parable of our Lord (Luke xii. 35–38) and an exhortation to watchfulness that followed it. This previous parable also is not introduced as such, and is not usually called a parable, though it really is one, and was so called

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by Peter (ver. 41). It may be called the parable of the Waiting Servants. It contains what is perhaps the most wonderful of all the many gracious promises spoken by the Lord to His faithful people. "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord when He cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that He shall gird Himself, and make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them." This parable is followed by an exhortation to watchfulness, illustrated by the familiar image of the thief in the night; and then comes the question from Peter, as the spokesman of the twelve, "Lord, speakest Thou this parable unto us, or even unto all?" The Lord replied by the parable of the Faithful Steward; and in introducing this, His thought in reference to Peter's question appears to be: "I speak it to all My servants, but in a more emphatic sense to you the Apostles, and to your successors in the ministry, who are not only My servants but My stewards, set over My household, with the duty of giving their food to the other servants (ver. 42). You, if you are faithful in such a charge, shall receive, at My second coming, a higher reward than any attainable by the inferior servants, even that of being set over all your Master's property (ver. 44; comp. Matt. xix. 28, where their reward is stated to consist in being judges and rulers over Israel). But I warn you also how terrible will be their doom who, when they see Me delay My coming, use their position in the ministry of the Church as an occasion for tyranny and sensuality" (vers. 45, 46). We can scarcely doubt that this warning is prophetic of a state of things which in our Lord's time could scarcely have been foreseen by merely human wisdom, but afterwards became real, when the Church, which had come triumphantly through the trial of persecution, was assailed by the more dangerous trials of riches and power.

But St. Matthew, as we have seen, separates the parable of the Faithful Steward from its original context, and

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associates it with three other Parables of Judgment. We have now to consider the four in relation to each other.

The parable of the Faithful Steward is, as we have seen, a parable of the judgment of the Christian ministry; and its chief lesson is the duty of fidelity in service, with its necessary condition of watchfulness.

The next is the parable of the Ten Virgins. It is not a specially difficult parable; and of course every one who knows anything at all of biblical subjects is aware that its imagery, which to us Europeans is so strange as almost to seem like a leaf from the Apocalypse, is taken from one of the commonest scenes of Eastern life. Its teaching is very like that of the foregoing parable, but there are two important differences. It describes the judgment, not of the ministry especially, but of the entire Church; and it lays an exclusive emphasis, not on the active service of Christ, nor even on the habit of watchfulness, but on the necessity for keeping alight what is called, by a most appropriate though not scriptural metaphor, "the flame of vital religion." Virginity signifies purity of life; the lamps are the profession of religion; the oil is the grace of God the Holy Spirit; and the flame in the lamps is the true religion of heart and life which is produced by His gracious presence. This parable has consequently nothing whatever to do with the judgment of the heathen who know not God, or of the openly ungodly in Christian countries, or of those who, while living an orderly life, do not in word and deed acknowledge Christ. Its teaching is exclusively for the inner circle of true Christians; and for them its lessons are, in the first place, the necessity for the supply of the Holy Spirit; and, in the second, that, having received it, we are not to think that we shall retain it as a matter of course, but must use all diligence to preserve and renew it by the appointed means of grace. For it must be remembered, if we would understand the meaning of the parable,

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that the foolish virgins took with them, not merely the lamps, symbolizing the external profession of religion, but enough of oil in the lamps to last for some time; and yet the failure of the oil at the critical moment prevented them from meeting the Bridegroom. We can imagine no more emphatic rebuke of the folly of the saying, "once saved, saved for ever," which we believe is, or was, current in some religious circles; or of the reply which, to the writer's knowledge, a dying woman gave to a clergyman who asked her about her hopes, that she was safe, having been converted some years before. It is no doubt true that our Lord has elsewhere said, "My sheep shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of My hand" (John x. 27, 28). The one saying is for our warning, the other for our encouragement; the present writer does not pretend to know how the two are to be reconciled, and perhaps this must be put off until we attain to know as we are known.

The incident of all the virgins, the wise as well as the foolish, falling asleep while the Bridegroom delayed his coming, is no doubt perplexing. It appears to contradict the saying in the parable of the Waiting Servants, "Blessed are those servants whom the Lord when He cometh shall find watching" (Luke xii. 37); and it appears no less to contradict the inner meaning of the parable of the Virgins itself; for how can the watchful state of the spirit which is symbolized by the burning lamps and the reserve supply of oil, be compatible with falling asleep? But it must be observed that this is mentioned without the smallest hint of blame. We feel doubtful as to its meaning, but would suggest that it may be meant as a caution against that temper of mind, perhaps never common, but certainly not unknown, which fears to let prayer and meditation cease for a moment, lest the enemy should get an advantage. This feeling may seem very pious, but it is really born of mistrust, and of that perverted kind of faith which believes

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in itself and in the "efficacy" of its own prayers, rather than in the God who hears and answers prayer. The right reply to such notions is contained in the most deeply spiritual of all the Psalms, where the Psalmist expresses his trust in his God by saying, "When I awake, I am still with Thee," and therefore fears not to fall asleep (Ps. cxxxix. 18).

> "No evil shall have power on me,
> Under Thy shelter safely kept;
> And when I wake, I am still with Thee,
> For Thou wast with me while I slept."

But there is an interpretation of a different kind, which however is perhaps not incompatible with this; though in advancing it we do not forget that any prophetical interpretation of a parable is of secondary importance to the spiritual interpretation, and also generally of much inferior certainty. It seems probable, and has been suggested before, that this parable is not only a parable of the spiritual state of the Church for all time, but an apocalypse of its state in the age immediately before the second visible coming of the Son of man: when the Church, after passing with varying degress of success through the trial of persecution in the first ages, the trials of power and riches in what we call the Middle Ages, and the trials of intellectual perplexities in the ages which are now, shall have to

> "fulfil
> The harder task of standing still";[1]

when there shall be no special form of trial; when the speculative perplexities and the practical difficulties of this present age shall be partly solved and partly given over as insoluble; when the *ennui* of a stationary civilization, which is described with such mournful force in the book

[1] Whittier.

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of Ecclesiastes, shall have again settled down on mankind; and when it shall be more evident than it is in these days of manifold activity, that the only blessed are those who keep alight the lamp of spiritual faith and hope.

The general lesson of the parable of the Virgins appears to be identical with that of the parable of the Wedding Garment, which was spoken by our Lord some short time before, not however to the disciples alone, but to the multitude (Matt. xxii. 11–13). The foolish virgins, who accepted the invitation to the wedding, and took their lamps to go to meet the Bridegroom, but neglected the needful supply of oil, are identical with the man who, unlike some of the others, did not make light of the King's invitation (ver. 5), but accepted it, and went in among the guests; yet was turned out just as the feast was going to begin, because he had not on the wedding garment which symbolizes the "holiness without which no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. xii. 14).[1]

The parable of the Virgins has produced no effect whatever on the outer world, beyond supplying it with subjects for art and allusions to adorn rhetoric and poetry. Very different in this respect has been the parable of the Talents. Except the parable of the Prodigal, nothing in our Lord's teaching has impressed men in general so much; indeed, it is perhaps more clearly appreciated by the better kind

[1] We have little doubt of the truth of the comment, that the wedding garments were supplied by the giver of the feast. Were it not so, the man who came in without one would not have been "speechless," but would have pleaded, whether truly or not, that accident or poverty had prevented him from procuring one. This point is illustrated by the following from the Marchioness of Dufferin's *Our Viceregal Life in India*, giving an account of a native dinner party:

"Our first proceeding was to dress ourselves properly for this festival, and as soon as we got to the house we were taken into a dressing room, were divested of our own gowns, and were draped in saris.

* * * * *

About ten o'clock we took off our native costume and returned home, our hostess insisting on presenting each of us with the saris we had worn."

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of worldly men—those who have a serious and unselfish interest in such legitimate secular matters as science, art, and politics—than by the inner circle of those who recognise the obligation of doing all things in the name of Christ and with a sense of responsibility to Him; for the latter have too often been inclined to treat those secular interests as if they were outside the dominion of Christ, and incapable of being consecrated to His service. The impression which this parable has produced on the general mind of Christian countries is shown in the curious way in which the word talent, which ought never to be used in the sense of endowment without an evident allusion to this parable, has come, not only in our language, but also in French and German, to be a mere synonym for ability.

The parable of the Virgins and that of the Waiting Servants describe the judgment of the entire Church. The parable of the Talents, like that of the Faithful Steward, on the contrary, especially describes the judgment of the Ministry; for we are told that the lord of the servants, on departing for a time, distributed his goods, evidently meaning all his money, among his servants; thus symbolizing the departure of Christ, and His entrusting His interests on earth to His apostles and their successors in the ministry. It is self-evident, however, that the principle is applicable to all; and this is expressly taught, by the same imagery, in the parable of the Pounds (Luke xix. 12), where a great nobleman is described as entrusting ten servants with a pound (*mina*, about £3 sterling) each, in order to make trial of their fidelity and their devotion to his service. There is nothing here about confiding all their lord's interest to these ten; they were all placed in an equal and not very high position of trust, representing the position of all who have learned the "first principles of Christ" (Heb. vi. 1).

The parables of the Virgins and of the Talents are also con-

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trasted in another and a far more remarkable way; namely, as to the principle on which judgment is to be awarded. In the former, as we have remarked, exclusive stress is laid on the necessity for keeping the flame of true religion burning in the heart; service, and even watchfulness, are lost sight of; all, the wise as well as the foolish, slumbered and slept while the bridegroom tarried. In the parable of the Talents, on the contrary, nothing is said about the religion of the heart; watchfulness is no doubt implied, for a man cannot make money while asleep; but the stress is exclusively laid on the duty of active and earnest service. It is not a sufficient answer to say that the devotion of the heart and the service of the life imply each other, for this is not always true. Our Lord has taught us that it is possible to do mighty works in His name, and yet, not having His Spirit, to be none of His (Matt. vii. 22, 23; comp. Rom. viii. 9). But He demands both the heart and the life; and the exclusive emphasis, first on the one and then on the other, in each of these two parables, is an instance of our Lord's method, which is that of the biblical writers generally, of insisting on one truth at a time, and letting their reconciliation take care of itself. The truth in which these two truths are reconciled and combined is the truth taught by our Lord in the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (though He does not teach it as a way of reconciling other truths); namely, that we shall be received, not according to what we have done, nor according to what we have believed, but according to what we are. For both faith and works are of value in the Divine sight only in so far as they form character.

It is much more remarkable, that in the Parables of Judgment our Lord carries His method of enforcing one truth at a time so far as to speak not one word about the possibility of repentance and forgiveness; and yet we know that this is with Him a characteristic and cardinal doctrine.

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We have seen that the parable of the Waiting Servants and that of the Virgins represent the judgment of the Church, and the parable of the Faithful Steward and that of the Talents the judgment of the Ministry: in like manner, the judgment of the World is represented by the imagery of the Sheep and the Goats. All men, of all nations, shall be gathered together for judgment; those who have shown kindness shall be rewarded, and those who have shown unkindness shall be punished, as if their deeds were done to Christ Himself, even though they have not thought of Him, nor ever heard His name. Not as if there were three distinct judgments, for the Ministry, the Church, and the World: "all must be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. v. 10). There shall be one judgment for all, but each shall be judged according to his knowledge and according to his responsibilities. Mercy and kindness shall be demanded from those who have had to live by the light of nature only; the account of the judgment of all nations is, in fact, an expansion of the Lord's saying, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy," combined with the equally certain truth that the unmerciful shall be judged without mercy (Jas. ii. 13). But, in addition to this, the Lord demands watchfulness and the cultivation of spiritual life from those who have been taught to know Christ; and especial devotion to His service from the ministers of His gospel, and from all others who have been entrusted with any especial "talent."

In the relation between the judgment of the World, the Church, and the Ministry, as set forth in these parables, there is no difficulty whatever. But there is a real difficulty, as it seems to us, regarding the principle on which our Lord declares that the world is to be judged. His only

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demand is for mercy and kindness. Of course faith, in the distinctively Christian usage of the word, is not to be asked of those who have had no opportunity of learning to know Christ. But why, in concluding His teaching on the subject of future judgment, does the Lord say nothing about purity and truthfulness, virtues which are insisted on in all scriptural teaching, as well as taught by the light of nature? We are unable to answer this question. It is impossible that our Lord can have meant to underrate the importance of purity and truthfulness; in such a context it seems unsatisfactory to speak of His method of teaching one truth at a time, but we have no other explanation to suggest.

The difficulty however is not a practical one. It is universally true, that "to whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required" (Luke xii. 48); a closer conformity with the law of God shall be exacted from those who have been taught to know Christ than from the ignorant and the heathen. We know not how the heathen shall be judged; we know only that the God of all the earth will do right, and that the Searcher of hearts will make right allowance for each man's ignorance and inability. But we know that from all who have had the light of nature the Judge demands kindness, purity, and truthfulness; we know that from all who have learned to understand the parable of the Watching Servants He demands the spirit and the habit of watchfulness; we know that from all who have learned to understand the parables of the Talents and of the Pounds He demands the consecration of all their powers to His service; and we know that from all who have learned to understand the parable of the Ten Virgins He demands the consecration of the heart to Himself.

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY.

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ON SOME FRAGMENTS OF A PRE-HIERONYMIAN LATIN VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

In the year 1520 was printed at Paris a quarto volume entitled, *Centum et Duæ Quæstiones et totidem Responsiones Morales super Genesim.* These *Quæstiones* were edited by Justinianus Genuensis Prædicatoriæ observationis professor, Trebiensis Episcopus, and by him dedicated to Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis, king of France. The king had summoned Justinianus from Rome to Paris, and in gratitude he takes occasion to present the queen-mother with "nonnihil nostræ literariæ suppellectilis"; namely, with this edition of the *CII. Quæstiones*, which he thinks are rightly attributed to Philo.

This dedication makes it probable that Justinianus had brought the manuscript of these *Quæstiones* with him from Rome, where in the Vatican there are still preserved some old Latin MSS. of Philo, which would no doubt be well worth overhauling. Justinianus was only editor, not author, of this Latin version published at Paris, and by him the following notice is appended to the text:

"Explicitus est liber quæstionum moralium super Genesim Philonis Indæi, ut sane vetustum attestatur exemplar: quæque aut ab interprete aut a malevolo quopiam aut certe ab ignaro Scriptore nonnulla a margine in contextum traducta, etiam in Philonem dicta, comperies."

In addition to this foreign matter however, the editor prints continuously, as if it were part of the hundred and second *responsio*, about half of an old Latin version of the *Therapeutæ* of Philo. A page had either dropped out of the manuscript or was neglected by the printer, for the greater part of the *responsio* and the first forty lines of the *Therapeutæ* are omitted, the two being run into one another abruptly.

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The next edition of these *Quæstiones* was made by one Sichardus, a friend of Budæus, and was printed at Basle in 1527, at the press of Adamus Petrus. In this edition the *Therapeutæ* again follows the *Quæstiones*, but is kept separate from it, and entitled by the editor *De Essæis*, because it begins with the words, "De statu Essæorum disputaturus," etc. These two pieces are not ascribed to any particular translator, but at the end of the last *quæstio* and *responsio* is printed the following:

"Interpres:
secundum consequentiam testimoniorum diviuæ Scripturæ non exposuit Philo titulos allegoriæ, sed ea captare voluit capitula, quæ videntur intutui mentis suæ succurrisse."

In the same volume appeared the *Liber Antiquitatum*, of doubtful Philonean origin, of which the Latin version is put down as *incerto auctore*, the *De Nominibus Hebraicis*, rendered into Latin by Hieronymus, and the spurious book *De Mundo*, by Budæus.

The identity of style, and the circumstance of their appearing together alone in the Paris edition of 1520, make it certain that the *Quæstiones in Genesim* and the *Therapeutæ* were latinised by one and the same hand. The Basle edition of 1527 is printed from at least two MSS., one lent to Sichardus by the convent of Fulda, the other found in the monastery of Lorch, near Heidelberg. The latter was a *pervetustum exemplar*, yet—so the editor alleges—no less unsatisfactory and full of corruptions than the *commodum illud Fuldense*. Sichardus prints marginally the variations of the Codex Laurissanus, as he calls it, for he despairs of reconciling them with those of the Fuldensis. He is quite unaware that there already existed a Paris edition of the work, and ends his preface by hoping that some day there may appear an edition of these *Quæstiones* which will be, if not more complete, at any rate more

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emended. The Paris edition is not indeed more emended, but the variant readings which it gives in nearly every line supplement the Basle edition, so that the two together afford a very fair text. The Basle edition was twice reprinted in the sixteenth century, and again at San Lazaro in 1836, in Aucher's edition of these *Quæstiones* in their ancient Armenian form.

From the fact that the Latin of the *Therapeutæ* implies readings found in no Greek codex, though also implied in the Armenian version, I had concluded that it could not be much later in origin than the fifth century. As a further test I compared the *titulos allegoriæ*, i.e. the texts from the Bible quoted in the several *quæstiones*, with the Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome, for it was to be expected that the translator would render the original Greek into the particular Latin form with which he was already familiar. I was at once struck by their difference from the Hieronymian text. The detailed comparison of them with the corresponding text of Sabatier—the so called Itala Versio—and, wherever it serves, with the Versio Lugdunensis as edited by M. Ulysses Robert, shows that in these *Quæstiones* we have, extending over three successive chapters of Genesis, the record of a pre-Hieronymian version of the Bible.

Although Sabatier aimed at restoring the famous Versio Itala, there is nothing to prove that the biblical text which with untiring industry he compiled from citations found in the old Latin Fathers represents a single continuous text and translation. Each Father must have used the version current in his country and Church, and of two verses which jostle one another in Sabatier, one may belong to a version current in Mauritania in the third, the other to a version current in North Italy in the fourth century. A special interest therefore attaches to the shreds of an old version contained in these *Quæstiones*; for we may be sure

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that they, one and all, are drawn from the same version, nor are they a century of quotations spread here and there over a wide tract of the Bible, but a fairly continuous text running from Genesis xxv. 20 to xxviii. 8.

In the following tables the *quæstio* containing the old version is given in the first column; in the second, the so called Itala Versio of Sabatier. The marginal references of Sabatier's text, indicating his authority, are for sake of brevity not given; but where in his notes he gives another citation of a text agreeing more with the *quæstio* than what he has embodied in his *versio antiqua*, I have copied out that other citation. In the third column I have given St. Jerome's Vulgate.

There are frequent discrepancies between the Basle and the Paris editions of these *Quæstiones*. I have chosen the Paris edition as the main text, but have supplied all variants of the Basle text. The latter are either mentioned separately and after the Paris text, or supplied within it, only between brackets. And as the differences of the Basle text may consist of (1) additions to, (2) omissions from, or (3) actual variation of words, (1) I have given the additions simply in brackets: *e.g.* in Qu. xxv, "inhabita (in) quam tibi dixero (terram)" implies that the words *in* and *terram* are added in Basle text, and are not in Paris text; (2) the omissions of the Basle text are also in brackets, but are prefaced by word "omit," so that there can be no ambiguity; (3) those words in the Paris text are italicised which in the Basle text have their place taken by others, and those others which take their place are added between brackets: *e.g.* in Qu. ii., "*Ad* (ut) quid," etc., means that *ut quid*, and not *ad quid*, is read in Basle or B. text.

In column two, from Qu. li. onwards, is quoted, after and in addition to the so called Itala Versio, the Versio Lugdunensis, as edited by M. Ul. Robert. Letters which

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in his text lie between brackets are his supplement of lacunas in the Lyons MS. For the earlier *quæstiones* the Versio Lugdunensis is deficient.

This arrangement gives at a glance what the old version of the Latin Bible preserved in these *Quæstiones* has in common, firstly, with the so called Itala of Sabatier, or with other testimonies cited in his notes; secondly, with the Versio Lugdunensis, wherever it serves; thirdly, with the Vulgata Nova as quoted in Sabatier. The version used by the translator of these *Quæstiones* seems to have differed little from versions which Ambrose and Augustine had in their hands, and to have differed still less from the Versio Lugdunensis. The following are some striking points of agreement with the Versio Lugdunensis: use of neuter form for masculine, e.g. *putea* for *puteus putei* (cp. Robert, *Prolegomena*, p. lxii); use of genitive in phrases like *sexaginta annorum* (Robert, *Prolegomena*, lxxx); *incolaveritis*, perhaps for *incola eritis* (cp. *variaverit* for *varia erit* (U. Robert, *Prolegomena*, lxxxvii), *in terram inhabita in quam tibi dixero* (cp. Robert, *Prolegomena*); use of *desusum* (Robert, *Prolegomena*, lxxv); *præ=præter* (cp. Versio Lugdunensis, Gen. xlvii. 22).

There is a close resemblance in Genesis xxvii. 28, 29 to the version used by Cyprian in this passage, but not enough perhaps to prove that the version used by the translator of the *Quæstiones* was as old as Cyprian. It is a tempting inference that this version of the *Quæstiones* goes back to his date, for that would prove that the treatise on the *Therapeutæ* which accompanies them was known and latinised in the first half of the third century. The data however do not prove such a conclusion, though they favour it. The mention of the *Apollinaristæ* interpolated in the Latin text may be due to a copyist, and not to the *interpres*.

One negative argument against the value of these frag-

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ment remains to be noticed. Why, it may be asked, should they be regarded as drawn from a current version of the Bible at all, and not rather as a fresh and original version made *pro hac vice* by the translator of the *Quæstiones*? The answer is, that the numerous points of agreement between these fragments, on the one hand, and either the Itala or the Lugdunensis Versio, on the other, preclude any such a belief, which is moreover opposed to all likelihood. It is more probable that the fragments here preserved belong, even where they differ from Sabatier's quotations and from the Versio Lugdunensis alike, to an established text current and familiar in the translator's Church and country.

The text of these *Quæstiones* has been here and there adapted to the Vulgate, and we sometimes get in one edition the adapted text, in the other edition the unadapted text. For example, in Qu. lxxvii., the Basle text has *benedictionibus repleatur* of the Vulgate, and the Paris text *benedictus* of the so called Itala Versio. But it is not always a safe inference that a pre-Hieronymian text has been adapted to the Vulgate because it agrees therewith; for the Vulgate may itself repeat an older version, especially in the case of well known and striking sayings, which the ears of a congregation being familiar with in one Latin dress would not easily tolerate in another. Englishmen are well aware of the prejudices roused by a Revised Version, and in the Armenian and Russian Churches no revision of the text read in the churches could be effected on account of popular dislike of innovation in such matters.

These *Quæstiones* show marked differences in many verses from the so called Itala and the Lugdunensis alike: e.g. *dispergentur* in Qu. iv., *primogenitus* in Qu. vii., *spaciositas* in Qu. xliii., *emolles et optimos* in Qu. lviii., *in conspectu meo* in Qu. lxvi., answering to ἐναντίον μου, just as ἔναντι τῆς σκηνῆς is rendered *in conspectu tabernaculi* in Versio Lugdunensis, Numeri viii. 9.

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I have not heard of any MS. of these *CII. Quæstiones*, except perhaps in the Vatican. There is no reason why this old Latin version of Philo's *Quæstiones* should only begin at Genesis xxv. 20, for the Armenian Version begins at the beginning of Genesis. Moreover the author of this old Latin version or a copyist distinctly implies, in a note which has been worked into the text of the *Solutio* of Qu. ii., that his version included much more of the *Quæstiones*. The passage referred to has not of course its equivalent in the Armenian, and runs thus: "Iam pervide quanta est unitas in mathematico tractu, et hic in prioribus translatis libris ex aperto dicente Philone," etc. If the Latin version of these earlier books could be found, it would contain much more of the old Latin version of the Old Testament which the translator used. Perhaps the Vatican MS. may contain this additional matter. In any case the old Latin version is not likely to give Philo's commentary beyond Genesis xxviii. 9; for the Armenian version also ends abruptly at this point, as Aucher, the Armenian editor, points out in his note *ad locum*: "Utinam adiecisset interpres, quare ipse prætermiserit residuas auctoris quæstiones solutionesque: an vix invenerit opus integrum in codice Græco, an sibi placuerit omittere multa et pauca quædam proponere Latinis; maxime, quo seculo id compilaverit."

If this old version of the *Quæstiones* of Philo was made in Africa, its date may be later than the diffusion of St. Jerome's Vulgate in Europe; for we know that in Africa the old Latin versions of the Bible held their own for some time later. If it was made in Italy, I should be inclined to ascribe it to the age of St. Ambrose, if not to St. Ambrose himself, to whose language, as Aucher points out, many phrases in it bear close resemblance, and who was besides a close student of these Philonean commentaries on Genesis.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
I.		GEN. XXV. 20.
QUARE quadraginta annorum erat Isaac cum nupsisset ei Rebecca? (B. omits *ei*, and reads *Rebeccam*.)	*In Sabatier.*	QUI cum quadraginta esset annorum duxit uxorem Rebeccam.
II.	GEN. XXV. 22.	GEN. XXV. 22.
Ad (ut) quid Rebecca ait: si sic futurum est mihi, ad quid mihi hoc?	. . . Si sic mihi futurum erat, ut quid mihi hoc?	Si sic mihi futurum erat, quid necesse fuit concipere?
III.	GEN. XXV. 22.	GEN. XXV. 22.
Quid est: perrexit interrogare a domino? (*Solutio* begins: Eloquium Dei, etc. These two words are in Basle edition thrown into *quæstio*; by mistake, as is proved by Armenian version, which agrees with Paris text.)	Abiit autem Isaac cum ea interrogare Dominum.	Perrexitque ut consuleret Dominum.
IV.	GEN. XXV. 23.	GEN. XXV. 23.
Ad quid *interrogans* ea audivit: duæ gentes in utero tuo sunt: et duo populi ex utero tuo dispergentur, et populus populum superabit: *et* maior seruiet minori? (In Basle edition: *Ut quid interrogante* [in marg. *perrogante*] *ea audivit*, etc.; and below, *ut maior*.)	Et dixit dominus Rebeccæ: duæ gentes in utero tuo sunt, et duo populi de ventre tuo dividentur, et populus populum superabit, et maior serviet minori.	Qui respondens ait: duæ gentes sunt in utero tuo, et duo populi ex ventre tuo dividentur, populusque populum superabit, et maior serviet minori.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
v. Quare dixit: Completi sunt dies eius ut pareret?	(*Itala deest.*)	Gen. xxv. 24. Iam tempus pariendi advenerat.
vi. Quid est: erant gemini in utero eius?	Gen. xxv. 24. Et ei erant gemini in utero eius.	Gen. xxv. 24. Et ecce gemini in utero eius reperti sunt.
vii. *Ad* (ut) quid primogenitus totus rubens et pilosus ut (Basle adds *et*) pellis.	Gen. xxv. 25. Et egressus est primus rubens, totus sicut pellis pilosus.	Gen. xxv. 25. Qui prior egressus est, rufus erat et totus in morem pellis hispidus.
viii. Quare nomen illi ponitur Esau, qui interpretatur *fictura* (factura) vel rubor?		Gen. xxv. 25. Vocatumque est nomen eius Esau.
ix. Quare dixit, Post hoc exivit frater eius?	(*Itala deest.*)	Gen. xxv. 25. Protinus alter egrediens.
x. *Ad* (ut) quid manus secundi apprehenderat calcaneum alterius?	(*Itala deest.*)	Gen. xxv. 25. Plantam fratris tenebat manu.
xi. Quare sexaginta annorum dicitur generasse Isaac?	(*Itala deest.*) Cf. August., Qu. 122 in Gen., to. 3, col. 408a: "Genuit eos Isaac cum esset annorum sexaginta."	Gen. xxv. 26. Sexagenarius erat Isaac quando nati sunt ei parvuli.
xii. Quare Esau venator et ruralis: Iacob vero simplex per innocentiam inhabitans domum et tabernacula? (Basle: Quare Esau venatoret ruralis, Iacob vero simpliciter, per innocentiam habitans domum.)	Gen. xxv. 27. Erat Esau homo sciens venari, agrestis: Iacob autem homo simplex, habitans domum.	Gen. xxv. 27. Factus est Esau vir gnarus venandi, et homo agricola: Iacob autem vir simplex habitabat in tabernaculis.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XIII. Quare dixit Isaac delexisse Esau: Rebecca vero diligebat Iacob.		GEN. XXV. 28. Isaac amabat Esau . . . et Rebecca diligebat Iacob.
XIV. Quare unus a patre pro causa venationis diligatur: mater vero secundum diligat, sine illius causa? (Basle ed.: Quare ab uno pro causa venationis diligebatur Mater vero sine causa?)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 28. Isaac amabat Esau eo quod de venationibus illius vesceretur, et Rebecca diligebat Iacob.
XV. Quid est dictum: coxit Iacob cocturam?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 29. Coxit autem Iacob pulmentum.
XVI. Quare dictum est: venit Esau de campo deficiens?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 29. Cum venisset Esau de agro lassus.
XVII. Quare ait: gustemus de hac coctura quia deficio?	GEN. XXV. 30. Dixit Esau Iacob: da mihi gustum de coctione rubea ista, quia deficio.	GEN. XXV. 30. Ait: da mihi de coctione hac rufa, quia oppido lassus sum.
XVIII. Quare vocatum est nomen eius Edom, quod translatum latine (Græce) dicitur rutilum sive terrenum?	GEN. XXV. 30. Propterea vocatum est nomen eius Edom.	GEN. XXV. 30. Quam ob causam vocatum est nomen eius Edom.
XIX. Quare dixit: vende primitias tuas mihi hodie? (Basle omits *hodie*, but reads *hoc* in place of it at beginning of *Solutio*.)	GEN. XXV. 31. Vende mihi hodie primogenita tua mihi.	GEN. XXV. 31. Vende mihi primogenita tua.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XX. Quare ita respondit, Ecce ego pergam mori: et (B. adds *ad*) quid mihi primitiæ istæ?	GEN. XXV. 32. Ut quid mihi primatus?	GEN. XXV. 32. Ille respondit: En morior, quid mihi proderunt primogenita?
XXI. Quid est: deprauauit Esau primitias (B. adds *suas*)?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXV. 34. Parvi pendens quod primogenita vendidisset.
XXII. Quare sit fames super terram (præ famem ante factam temporibus Abraham)?	GEN. XXVI. 1. Facta est autem fames super terram, præter famem quæ prius facta est in tempore Abrahæ. Sabatier notes that August. elsewhere quotes, using *ante* instead of *prius*.	GEN. XXVI. 1. Orta autem fame super terram, post eam sterilitatem quæ acciderat in diebus Abraham.
XXIII. Quid est: perrexit (Isaac) ad Abimelech regem *Phylistiim* (Philistim) in Gerara?	GEN. XXVI. 1. Abiit Isaac ad Abimelech regem Philistinorum in Gerara.	GEN. XXVI. 1. Abiit Isaac ad Abimelech regem Palæstinorum in Gerara.
XXIV. Quare ait *ei* (illi) eloquium divinum: ne descendas in Ægyptum?	GEN. XXVI. 2. Apparuit autem illi Dominus, et dixit: Noli descendere in Ægyptum.	GEN. XXVI. 2. Apparuitque ei Dominus, et ait: ne descendas in Ægyptum.
XXV. *Ad* (ut) quid dixit illi: Inhabita (in) quam tibi dixero (terram). Esto autem incola in hac terra?	GEN. XXVI. 2, 3. Habita autem in terra, quam tibi dixero. Et incole in terra hac.	GEN. XXVI. 2, 3. Sed quiesce in terra, quam dixero tibi. Et peregrinare in ea.
XXVI. Quid est: Ero tecum, et benedicam te? (Basle ed.: Quid est ergo: tecum ero, et benedicam te?)	GEN. XXVI. 3. Et ero tecum, et benedicam te.	GEN. XXVI. 3. Eroque tecum, et benedicam tibi.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XXVII. Quid est: constituam iuramentum meum, quod iuravi patri tuo?	GEN. XXVI. 3. Statuam iuramentum meum quod iuravi Abrahæ patri tuo.	GEN. XXVI. 3. Complens iuramentum quod spopondi Abraham patri tuo.
XXVIII. Quid est: multiplicabo semen tuum, sicut stellas cæli?	GEN. XXVI. 4. Et multiplicabo semen tuum tanquam stellas cæli. For *tanquam* is read *sicut* in Tichon., reg. 3, col. 54 d.	GEN. XXVI. 4. Et multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas cæli.
XXIX. Quid est: dabo semini tuo omnem terram istam?	GEN. XXVI. 4. Et dabo semini tuo omnem terram hanc.	GEN. XXVI. 4. Daboque posteris tuis universas regiones has.
XXX. Quid est: benedicentur in *semine* (nomine) tuo omnes gentes terræ?	GEN. XXVI. 4. Et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terræ. Sabatier notes as follows: "In collat. Carthag., col. 392 a, . . . pro in semine, legitur, in nomine."	GEN. XXVI. 4. Et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terræ.
XXXI. Quare dixit: pro eo quod audivit pater tuus, et custodivit præcepta mea, et mandata mea, et justificationes meas?	GEN. XXVI. 5. Pro eo quod obaudivit Abraham pater tuus vocem meam et custodivit præcepta mea et mandata mea et iustificationes meas et legitima mea.	GEN. XXVI. 5. Eo quod obedierit Abraham voci meæ et custodierit præcepta et mandata mea et ceremonias legesque servaverit.
XXXII. Quare dixit: Incola vetus ac incola rarus?	GEN. XXVI. 3. Et incole in terra hac.	GEN. XXVI. 3. Et peregrinare in ea.
(Basle ed.: Quare dixit: incolaueritis, ac incola Gerara?)	GEN. XXVI. 6. (*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 6. Mansit itaque in Geraris.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XXXIII. Qui sunt illi viri quos scriptura meminit ?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 7. Qui cum interrogaretur a viris loci illius.
XXXIV. Quid est: factum est longius illic incolaret, etc. ? (Basle ed.: Quid est: factus est longævus illic ? *Sol.*, incolare . . .)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 8. Cumque pertransissent dies plurimi et ibidem moraretur.
XXXV. Cuiusmodi ludus videtur quem perspiciens Abimelech de fenestra vidit Ysaac ludentem cum uxore sua Rebecca. (Basle edition has *lusus* and *Isaac.*)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 8. Prospiciens Abimelech rex Palæstinorum per fenestram, vidit eum iocantem cum Rebecca uxore sua.
XXXVI. Quid est: seminavit in illo anno et invenit centenarium hordeum ?	GEN. XXVI. 12. Seminavit autem Isaac in terra illa, et invenit in anno illo centuplum hordei.	GEN. XXVI. 12. Sevit autem Isaac in terra illa, et invenit in ipso anno centuplum.
XXXVII. Quid est: proficiens, maior fiebat, quousque factus est magnus valde ? (Basle ed.: Quid est: procedens maior fiebat, quousque maior factus est valde ?)	GEN. XXVI. 13. Et procedens maior fiebat, quoad usque magnus factus est valde.	GEN. XXVI. 13. Et ibat proficiens atque succrescens, donec magnus vehementer effectus est.
XXXVIII. *Ad* (ut) quid: hæc quæ foderunt pueri patris eius, dissipantes obstruunt Phylistiim (Philistenses) ?	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXXVI. 14, 15. Palæstini omnes puteos, quos foderant servi patris illius Abraham, illo tempore obstruxerunt implentes humo.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XXXIX. Quare Abimelech dixit ad Isaac, *Recede* (Perge) a nobis: quia *potentior* (possibilior nobis) factus es *valde*? (B. omits *valde*.)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXXVI. 16. In tantum, ut ipse Abimelech diceret ad Isaac: recede a nobis, quoniam potentior nobis factus es valde.
XL. Ad quid obstrusos puteos rursus effodit? (Basle ed.: Ut quid obstrusa putea rursus effodit?)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 18. Rursum fodit alios puteos, . . . quos olim obstruxerant Philisthiim.
XLI. *Ad* (ut) quid eadem vocabula posuit puteis quæ etiam *prius erant eis*? (B. reads *præter eius* where Aucher suggests *pater eius*.)	(*Itala deest.*)	GEN. XXVI. 18. Appellavitque eos eisdem nominibus quibus ante pater vocaverat.
XLII. *Ad* (ut) quid in valle Geraræ putei esse dicuntur?	GEN. XXVI. 19. Et foderunt pueri Isaac in valle Gerarum, et invenerunt ibi puteum aquæ vivæ.	GEN. XXVI. 19. Foderuntque in Torrente, et reperierunt aquam vivam.
XLIII. Quare in primo dimicatur: in secundo iudicatur: in tertio cessant? *Sol.*: Ex primo notatur iniuria: secundo inimicitia: tertio speciositas. (Basle ed.: Quare in primo dimicantur, secundo iudicantur, in tertio cessant? Et primum vocatur	GEN. XXVI. 20–22. Et litem fecerunt pastores Gerarum cum pastoribus Isaac: . . . et vocavit nomen eius, Injustitiam . . . Et foderunt puteum alterum: et altercati sunt etiam super eo, et vocavit nomen eius, Inimicitiæ . . . et foderunt puteum alium, et non liti-	GEN. XXVI. 20–22. Sed et ibi jurgium fuit pastorum Geraræ adversus pastores Isaac, dicentium: nostra est aqua: quam ob rem nomen putei, ex quo quod acciderat, vocavit Calumniam. Foderunt autem et alium: et pro illo quoque rixati sunt, appellavit-

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
iniuria, secundum inimicitia, tertium spaciositas ?)	gavertunt cum eis, et vocavit nomen eius Latitudo.	que eum, Inimicitias. Profecto inde fodit alium puteum, pro quo non contenderunt: itaque vocavit nomen eius, Latitudo.
XLIV. Quid est: ascendit inde ad puteum sed *suspensus*[1] (suspensum) ?	GEN. XXVI. 23. Ascendit autem inde ad puteum Iuramenti.	GEN. XXVI. 23. Ascendit autem ex illo loco in Bersabee.
XLV. *Ad* (ut) quid in nocte Dominus *visitat eum* (uisitatur): et ait, Ego sum Deus patris tui: ne timeas: tecum enim sum.	GEN. XXVI. 24. Et visus est ei Dominus in illa nocte, et dixit ei: Ego sum deus Abraham patris tui, ne timeas, tecum enim sum.	GEN. XXVI. 24. Ubi apparuit ei Dominus in ipsa nocte, dicens: Ego sum deus Abraham patris tui, noli timere, quia ego tecum sum.
XLVI. Quare dominus *visitans* (uisitatus) ostendit semetipsum deum ?	*See* GEN. XXVI. 24, *as above.*	
XLVII. Quare dicendo: Benedixi te, adiecit. Et multiplicabo semen tuum propter patrem tuum ?	GEN. XXVI. 24. Et benedicam te et multiplicabo semen tuum propter Abraham patrem tuum. Sabatier notes that August., *De Civit. Dei*, c. 36, reads *benedixi* instead of *benedicam*.	GEN. XXVI. 24. Benedicam tibi, et multiplicabo semen tuum propter servum meum Abraham.
XLVIII. Quare ædificando illic *altare* (altarium),	GEN. XXVI. 25. Et ædificavit ibi Isaac altare, et invo-	GEN. XXVI. 25. Itaque ædificavit ibi altare: et invocato

[1] Here the *Solutio* implies *juramenti*; for it runs thus: "Puteus enim iuramenti filia septima est quod Hebraice legitur Bersabace Berfilia Sabeæ septima." Which words however seem to be translator's and not Philo's.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
non obtulit sacrificium: sed invocato nomine Domini fixit tabernaculum suum?	cavit in nomine domini.	nomine Domini, extendit tabernaculum.
XLIX.	GEN. XXVI. 26.	GEN. XXVI. 26.
Quare post quartam putei fossuram a pueris factam *exit* (exiit) Abimelech ad *deum* (eum), et Ochozath (Acho [Achoza]) thalami præpositus: et Phicol princeps militiæ.	Et Abimelech ivit ad eum de Geraris, et Ochozath pronubus eius, et Phicol princeps militiæ ejus.	Ad quem locum cum venissent de Geraris, Abimelech, et Ochozath amicus illius, et Phicol dux militum.
L.		GEN. XXVI. 29, 30.
Quare dicentibus et nunc benedictus a Domino; (B. omits semicolon) facit cænam et manducaverunt et biberunt?	(*Itala deest.*)	Sed cum pace dimisimus auctum benedictione Domini. Fecit ergo eis convivium, et post cibum et potum.
LI.	GEN. XXVI. 32.	GEN. XXVI. 32.
Quare pergentibus pueris *Ysaac* (Isaac) venientes qui quartum puteum foderunt dixerunt *se* (B. omits *se*) non invenisse aquam?	Et venerunt pueri Isaac, et nunciaverunt ei de puteo quem foderunt et dixerunt ei: non invenimus aquam.	Ecce autem venerunt in ipso die servi Isaac, annunciantes ei de puteo quem foderant, atque dicentes: Invenimus aquam.
LI.	GEN. XXVI. 33.	GEN. XXVI. 33.
Sol. Quod et iuramentum vocat et civitatem puteum iuramenti . . .	Et vocavit nomen eius iuramentum. Vers. Lugd.: Propter hoc nomen est civitatis illius puteus juramenti usque in hodiernum diem.	Inde appellavit eum, abundantiam: et urbi nomen impositum est Bersabee usque in præsentem diem.
LII.	GEN. XXVI. 34.	GEN. XXVI. 34.
Quare Esau quadragenarius accepit uxorem Iudith filiam	(*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Et erat autem Esau	Esau vero quadragenarius duxit uxores, Iudith filiam Beeri

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
Beher et Barhanath filiam Helomeuei ? (Basle ed.: Quare E. qu. a. u. l. f. Beher Cetthei et Barhatnath filiam Elom Heuæi ?)	annorum XL et accepit uxorem Iudin, filiam Beiher Caethei, et Bassemat, filiam Elon Euchei.	Hethæi, et Basemath filiam Elon ejusdem loci.
LIII. Quare has ipsas dixit contendere *Ysaac* (Isaac) et Rebeccæ ?	GEN. XXVI. 35. (*Itala deest.*) Vèrs. Lugd.: Et erant contendentes haec duae aduersus Isac et Rebeccam.	GEN. XXVI. 35. Quæ ambæ offenderant animum Isaac et Rebeccæ.
LIV. Quid est: postquam senuit Ysaac caligaverunt oculi eius ad videndum ? (Basle ed.: Quid est: postquam senuit Isaac caligati sunt oculi eius ? *Sol.*: Ad videndum, etc. So Arm. Vers.).	GEN. XXVII. 1. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Postquam senuit Isaac obducti sunt oculi eius, et nihil videbat.	GEN. XXVII. 1. Senuit autem Isaac, et caligaverunt oculi eius et videre non poterat.
LV. Quare dixit maiori filio: accipe (B. adds *uas tuum*) pharetram et arcum ?	GEN. XXVII. 1-3. Et vocavit filium suum seniorem Esau, et dixit, . . . Nunc ergo sume vas tuum, pharetramque et arcum. Vers. Lugd.: Et uocavit Esau filium suum maiorem natu, et dixit ei . . . nunc ergo sume uasum tuum, pharetram et arcum.	GEN. XXVII. 1-3. Vocavitque Esau filium suum maiorem, et dixit ei . . . sume arma tua, pharetram et arcum.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
LVI.	GEN. XXVII. 3, 4.	GEN. XXVII. 3, 4.
Quid est: cape mihi venationem: (B. adds *et*) fac mihi epulas sicut amo: et affer mihi ut manducem: quatenus benedicat te anima mea antequam moriar?	Venare mihi venationem. Vers. Lugd.: Venare mihi venationem: et fac mihi escas, sicut amo ego, et adfers mihi ut manducem, et benedicat te anima mea, priusquam moriar.	Cumque venatu aliquid apprehenderis fac mihi inde pulmentum sicut velle me nosti, et affer ut comedam: et benedicat tibi anima mea antequam moriar.
LVII.	GEN. XXVII. 6.	GEN. XXVII. 6.
Ad (ut) quid Rebecca his auditis ait ad Iacob filium suum: audivi patrem tuum loquentem ad Esau fratrem tuum.	(*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Rebecca autem dixit ad Iacob filium suum minorem: ecce ego audivi patrem tuum loquentem ad Esau fratrem tuum.	Dixit filio suo Iacob: audivi patrem tuum loquentem cum Esau fratre tuo.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

(*To be concluded.*)

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INTERPRETATION OF THE LIFE OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

THE great claim which modern biblical criticism makes for itself is that it has made the early history of the Christian Church live once more before our eyes. By means of an "improved translation" it has got to the heart of the biblical writers; it has shown us that the men and women of the Bible are of flesh and blood, that they had ideas, passions, politics, theories of life and of the universe; and so we are told that, thanks to this improved translation, "the past woke up, lived and moved, and what it said came to you with a new accent, the accent of truth." [1]

The slightest acquaintance with modern accounts of the life of our Lord or of the early history of the Church, or with modern commentaries, is sufficient to show that to a considerable extent this claim is justifiable. In two points at least these writings contrast favourably with the works of previous generations, in philological exactness and in historical vividness. The relations of Hellenistic Greek have been more exactly determined, the life-history of each word traced, the peculiarities of each writer classified, every detail of every sentence placed in the balance and weighed.. No doubt the process is often wearying; the *débris* left by previous commentators has to be cleared away before the exact lines of the foundations which have to be reconstructed can be seen; but in the end the patient student feels that he has been safely guided past false clues that might have led him astray, and that he now does see

[1] Mrs. Humphrey Ward, in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1889, p. 457.

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what those foundations really imply. To vary the metaphor—the Alpine climber, as he makes his way through the thick rows of pine trees in some frequented part, is a little annoyed at the number of sign-posts which will not leave him to find out his own way for himself; but when, following their guidance, he has reached the top, and the whole expanse of country lies before him, such that it could only be seen from that one point alone, he is grateful that he has not been allowed to diverge on any of the many side-paths, which seemed so clearly right at the moment, and yet which would have lost him the completeness of the view.

Again, exact verbal statistics have been collected. These have revealed to us in the synoptic gospels the existence in some form or other of previous materials used by the writers, and so have thereby strengthened the evidence for the early date and historical trustworthiness of the central core of the gospel narrative: they have revealed to us an amount of verbal differences between the various groups of St. Paul's epistles: now these can be no accidents, there must be real and living facts to account for them; and thus, alike to those who have accepted and to those who have denied the Pauline authorship, the real meaning of the epistles, and the circumstances of the moment which prompted each have grown more clear and vivid. Perhaps no better instance could be given of the way in which this careful verbal study leads into the very heart of a writer's meaning than Pfleiderer's study of the Epistle to the Ephesians,[1] in which he rejects indeed the Pauline authorship, yet expounds the central truth in a way most helpful to those who accept that authorship.

Side by side with this philological exactness stands the greater historical vividness. Modern criticism has not only weighed and distinguished words, it has weighed and distinguished character and individuality. It insists that

[1] *Paulinismus*, ii., p. 162.

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every actor in the drama shall be a living human being, with his own distinct life. Within the Church the more rigid conservative element of the Jewish Christians, "all zealous for the law," stands out in clear contrast to the eager, innovating champions of liberty, the Gentile Christians. Within the circle of the apostles, the characters of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John, and, in a less degree, St. James, are stamped with such strong features, that no one could confuse their utterances or possibly mistake the epistle of any one of them for the work of any of the others; there are clearly marked varieties in their teaching; there is a real and true Paulinism which, in its recognition of the elements of true religion in the Gentile world, in its demand for a rational dogmatic expression of the universal significance of the life and death of the Lord, in its clear conception of the subordination of the individual to the whole body of the Church, stands apart from the teaching of the other apostles, and yet is, no less than theirs, a real presentation of the truth as it is in Jesus, and capable, without undue strain or violence, of being combined with them in a higher synthesis.

These are clear and invaluable gains; yet, while ungrudgingly welcoming them, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that much of such criticism is vitiated by a narrow conception of life, and falls short of being a full and adequate presentation of the richness of the spiritual life which was so striking a characteristic of the early Church. Philologists have been sometimes criticized for discussing only the features of language, to the almost total neglect of the life of language. The same danger is possible, and far more serious, in dealing with literary and spiritual phenomena. One student never gets behind the philological interest of a book; another is absorbed in its literary interest: but few reach to the living human soul, with its hopes and fears. Of these few, some form their conception of life entirely in

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the study and through literary spectacles, without contact with its hard realities. All such are doomed to comparative failure. "To feel and honour a great character in his works, it is necessary for the critic himself to be a somebody, to have a character of his own." These are Goethe's words. "He who would interpret the work of a master must summon up all his powers and must be *alive* at as many points as possible." These are the words of one of our best living critics.[1] If these are true, the qualities needed for a real appreciation of the great moving forces of the world must be higher, severer, rarer than is often supposed.

Two points may be singled out in which a purely literary criticism has ignored the facts of life. It has at times ignored the weaknesses of human life and character; at other times its many-sidedness. Due allowance is often not made for weakness; a traditional belief in the verbal inspiration of the documents or in the infallibility of a Christian saint is often made the groundwork of a critical attack by those whose reason has rejected both the one and the other. If a book of the Bible is to be treated as any other book, it must be so treated honestly; the same kind of evidence for facts must be regarded as adequate as would be in dealing with a pagan historian. But this is often not done. Differences in minor details which are not greater than those in Herodotus, Æschylus, Thucydides, and Demosthenes, or even in different parts of Herodotus himself, about the number of ships engaged in the battle of Salamis, are held sufficient to discredit the historical character of the gospels; or again inconsistencies in an apostle are treated as fatal to historic truth. For instance, St. Peter refuses to eat with Gentile Christians at Antioch; consequently, the accounts in the Acts of the Apostles that he ate with Cornelius and that he supported the compromise

[1] Prof. Dowden, *Transcripts and Studies*, "The Interpretation of Literature," an essay well worth the study of a student of the Bible.

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at the Council of Jerusalem are treated as inaccurate. The answer is particularly easy in this case, as St. Paul himself represents St. Peter as inconsistent with his own principles; but even were this not so, what ignorance of life is implied in the criticism! What large portions of nineteenth century history will have to be proved unreal, how many speeches to be rejected as unauthentic, if the possible inconsistency of a statesman is not taken into account as a factor in history!

But more often does this literary criticism show itself blind to the many-sidedness of a great personality or of a great truth. The criticism which would limit St. Paul's genuine writings to the four epistles of the third missionary journey rests upon no external evidence whatever. It is based mainly on the postulate that, given a teacher with striking features of character and of style exhibited vividly in one great conflict of his life, it follows that he is to be always living on that level and in that mood. St. Paul is thus limited to one set of experiences and expressions; he is the champion of justification by faith, the eager controversialist against the Judaizers—that and nothing else. Yet contrast with such a limitation the variety of style and of character revealed even within this group of epistles. Within the four corners of one epistle, what a change of vocabulary, of structure, of tone is to be seen in the central section of 2 Corinthians as compared with the earlier and later sections! or, to extend our view to the whole group, what a change from the broken, halting sentences of Galatians ii. to the irregular, manual-like jottings of Romans xii., or the clear, terse, almost rhythmical lyrics of the psalm of the love of man in 1 Corinthians xiii., or that of the love of Christ in Romans viii.! And as we pass to his character —how are we to fix and fasten such a restless, flashing, varying, many-coloured kaleidoscope? At one moment the active, undaunted missionary, checked by no perils of land

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or sea, not ashamed to preach the gospel even in Rome; at another speaking with fear and trembling before a few believers, neither wise nor noble nor mighty, in Corinth: thrilling now with the note of triumph, now with the cry of despair: the shrewd, practical, worldly-wise director, who arranges the details of the women's head-dress and of the collection for the saints; yet in a moment is speaking with tongues more than they all, whether in the body or out of the body he knows not, the seer of revelations and visions of the Lord: boasting of all his national privileges, and pouring contempt on every boast: placing himself before his converts as the object of their imitation—himself who can do nothing, nay, who cannot do that which he wills, and does that which he hates: yearning for his converts with the strange pangs of a mother for her unborn child, and yet pouring out upon them the flood of his irony and sarcasm: quick to punish and hand over to Satan; as quickly melting to forgiveness: ready to be anathema from Christ Jesus for his brethren's sake, and yet himself anathematizing all who love not the Lord Jesus: the opponent of the law, who yet establishes the law: the champion of freewill, who does not shrink from the strongest assertions of predestination: the assertor of the personal responsibility of each individual to God, and of his absolute dependence upon the whole body.

Such a style and such a character will surely leave room for the affectionate tenderness and simplicity of the Thessalonian or Philippian letters; for the eucharistic majesty and insistence on Church unity of the so called letter to Ephesus; for the vigorous polemic, the wide-soaring, eagle gaze of the Colossian letter; for the personal affection and practical wisdom of the pastoral group. A similar criticism applied to the three great controversies of St. Augustine's life would eliminate two of them in favour of a third; and yet a greater than Augustine is here.

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So to take one instance of the many-sidedness of truth, of the need of being *alive* at all points to deal with it. Place the Epistle of St. James side by side with that to the Romans; treat them by verbal literary tests: it seems almost impossible to resist the conclusion that they not only contradict each other, but that one writer is consciously contradicting the other. But add to the mere verbal test the historical surroundings; realize how this question of the relation of faith to works was a common theme, alike in rabbinical and Alexandrine discussions; and it will appear at least possible that the two writers should have treated of the same theme, and used the same illustrations, each in perfect independence of the other.

Yes, but even if they are not consciously antagonistic, are they not irreconcilable? To answer this we must pierce deeper still, behind the historical circumstances into the realities of spiritual life. Realize, on the one hand, the danger which besets every orthodox believer of resting on an empty profession of faith; on the other hand, the danger which besets the active, consistent Christian of self-complacency, of looking to himself rather than to God as the source of his strength. Combine the prophet's demand for reality in religion with the theologian's insight into the value of the true motives of action and his jealousy for God, and the difficulty vanishes. It is only the student, not the preacher, not the parish priest, not the director of consciences, who finds it difficult to reconcile the teaching of St. Paul with that of St. James.

The critic whose interpretation is to be complete must therefore give us an "improved translation" which shall interpret literary, historical, and spiritual facts. Like Elijah, he must stretch himself three times upon the child ere it will revive. But when we try to reach to the deepest of all these facts, the spiritual life, we are met by a real difficulty. Such facts very often are scarcely mentioned

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in the historian, much more do they escape discussion in incidental and controversial documents like the epistles. They lie so deep that their existence is presupposed. It is as true of these deep principles of life as it is of doctrine, that "their importance is likely to be in the inverse ratio of the number of passages in which they are directly taught."[1] The historian is often more occupied with the external relations of his country than with the secret forces of national life; and the Christian Church jealously guarded its deepest secrets from the rude gaze of the outside world. Yet we cannot be wrong in emphasising two of these spiritual factors, which have often been strangely ignored or minimised.

I. The first is the strength of the sense of brotherhood implied in the existence of the Church. It is obviously true that the first outburst of the spiritual life tended to intensify individuality: the gifts of the Spirit, the sense of the indwelling presence of God making each man partaker of the Divine nature, the consciousness of intimate intercourse in prayer between the Christian and his Lord, all tended in this way. The Church from the first was the meeting-place of strong individualities; but from the first it was also their home, their family, controlling them with the discipline of love. Each individual was made to feel that he was the member of a body, bound to consider the rights and feelings of the other members, bound to use his own gifts to profit withal. The reality of the struggle between Jewish and Gentile Christians, the reality of the differences of character and of teaching between the apostles, imply that behind the struggle and behind the individualities there lay a force and a life which could combine varieties and harmonize conflicting characters. It is in time of conflict and of jarring that we feel the compelling force of family life or of a college tradition, checking wilfulness and caprice, and disciplining each

[1] Dale on *The Atonement*, p. 21.

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member into thoughtfulness and willing subordination. So in the early centuries of Christianity, it is far less rational to hold that the conception of a catholic Church was a compromise developed out of conflicting elements, than that it existed from the first in its real essence, with power to control and calm the conflict.

It is a significant fact, and one that is strange to merely literary and academic minds, that the earliest historian of the Church makes no mention of the literary documents of his time, not even of the epistles of St. Paul. They are not of primary importance to him. That which did seem important was a great conception of the Church existing from the first, of a body filled with the Spirit of God so as to be of one heart and one mind, dealing with difficulties and perplexities, the scene of moral evils and of intellectual disputings, yet ever maintaining the unity from which it started, *the* Church throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, the Church of God which He purchased with His own blood.[1]

II. Further, any attempt to picture the real spiritual life of the early Christians must throw into stronger relief than is often done the personality of the Lord Himself. In a friendly review of Pfleiderer's *Das Urchristenthum*, Professor E. Schürer complains that he, like Baur, "has overlooked nothing less than the chief fact, the creative personality of Jesus Christ." "Nowhere does it appear that the positive contents of the proclamation of Jesus Christ had any influence at all on the time that followed."[2] Such a criticism shows how far it is possible to slip away from the true centre of a position. The epistles of St. James, of St. Peter, of St. John, and even of St. Paul, are full of references, more or less conscious and declared, to the positive contents of the Lord's teaching. His persona-

[1] Acts ix. 31 (Rev. Ver.), xx. 28.

[2] *Theologisches Literarzeitung*, 1888, p. 516.

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lity was creative even to St. Paul, who had probably not seen Him in His earthly life. He is the sphere in whom he thinks, and acts, and commands, and entreats, and rebukes; the Lord to whom he pours forth his prayers, who speaks to him in clear utterance; the pattern life on whose meekness and gentleness he strives to mould his own impetuous temper; the object of knowledge; the goal which he longs to reach. St. Peter tells how those who had not seen Him love Him, and rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory; St. John still enjoys fellowship with Him, real as when he had heard and seen with his eyes and handled with his hands, a fellowship which is the source of fellowship with the Father and the security of fellowship with the brethren. The writer of the Acts, when he says that his former narrative contains that which Jesus *began* to do and to teach, implies that it is the same Jesus who continued to inspire his actions and the teachings of His apostles. No attempt therefore to interpret the life of the early Church can be adequate which does not give due emphasis to these two factors, the combining force of the sense of brotherhood, and the inspiring force of the personality of the Lord. If

> We live by admiration, hope, and love,

an account of early Church life must show what Christians admired, what was the object of their hope, what the object of their love.

> Love, hope, fear, faith—these make humanity,
> These are its sign and note and character.

If Browning is right in this, he who would depict the life of humanity at a time when it was confessedly stirred to its depths must be able to show us a power which could draw forth all and each of these true qualities. No presentation short of this can satisfy us. No qualifications short of

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these can make the true interpreter. He will need philological exactness to be loyal to his authorities; he will need historical imagination to picture the scene in living reality; he will need, above all, a spiritual sensitiveness, able to feel the real importance of that with which he deals. "For the searching into Holy Scripture and true knowledge there is a need of life, of spiritual beauty, and an unsullied soul, and virtue modelled upon Christ, that the mind, guided by it along its path, may be able to touch and lay hold of that at which it aims; . . . for without a pure mind, and an imitation of the life of the saints, none could really grasp the teaching of the saints." [1]

W. Lock.

ON THE MORAL CHARACTER OF PSEUDONYMOUS BOOKS.

I.

In the great mass of the world's literature, the productions that have borne names other than those of their real authors are many, and possess a peculiar interest. The task of discovering their secret stimulates curiosity; and the necessary research has often exercised the highest powers of learning and criticism, and given occasion to keen controversy. The literary history of pseudonymous books is in many cases very curious, and the circumstances of their origin have often thrown fresh light on obscure portions of history. Even to the literature of inspiration the interest derived from such questions is not wanting. For among the canonical writings of the Old and New Testament there are some which, by the mistakes of copyists, editors, or others, have been ascribed to those who were not their

[1] Athanasius, *De Incarnatione*, cap. lvii.

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true authors; for example, some of the Psalms, and, in the opinion of many, portions of Isaiah and Zechariah, and the Epistle to the Hebrews; and among apocryphal books there are some which contain a deliberate pretence to be the work of some more ancient and venerated man than their true author. Wrong ascriptions of the former kind will readily be allowed by all as quite compatible with inspiration; for they involve no false assertion by the author, but merely a mistake by some one else. But the case is different when a writing professes to be the work of a person who is not its real author; and until recently that was generally regarded as involving a fraud, whether pious or otherwise, and therefore incompatible with the character of a message from God. Of late however a different view of such literary fictions has come to be held by many critics; for they have been persuaded that some books make a false claim to authorship, which yet on other grounds must be regarded as divinely inspired, as they have been by the majority of Christians. This position has been generally supported by the idea, that the recognised custom of ancient literature allowed fictions of that kind to be constructed in perfect good faith, no deceit being intended or originally produced, though mistaken opinions were afterwards adopted; so that fictions which would now be judged as fraudulent and immoral were anciently viewed as perfectly legitimate. Canon Farrar gives brief and emphatic expression to this view, when he writes, "Those who have the slightest acquaintance with ancient literature know, that the adoption of a pseudonym involved no dishonest intention, and was indeed one of the most familiar of literary expedients."[1] So also Simcox in regard to the pastoral epistles: "To a writer of the period, it would appear as legitimate an artifice to compose a letter as to compose a speech in the name of a great man whose senti-

[1] *Solomon, his Life and Times*, p. 183.

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ments it was desired to reproduce and record; the question which seems so important to us, whether the words, and even the sentiments, are the great man's own or only his historian's, seems then hardly to have occurred either to writer or readers."[1] Similar statements are made by Dr. Samuel Davidson in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, and by Delitzsch and Plumptre in their introductions to Ecclesiastes; but they have not given evidence, or even indicated by references where evidence is to be found, of what is so confidently asserted. That it is not universally admitted by competent scholars may be seen from the words of Neander in reference to such a view of the Epistle of James: "The assertion made by Kern, . . . that, according to the principles of the early Christian age, such a literary imposture would be irreproachable, I cannot acknowledge to be well-founded, if expressed without limitation. There was indeed a certain standing-point from which such a *fraus pia*, as we must always call it (when a palpable falsehood was made use of to put certain statements in circulation), would be allowed; but that this was a generally approved practice appears to me an arbitrary assumption."[2] The matter then is not so clear and certain as is often assumed, and as it has an important bearing on many questions of biblical criticism, it deserves careful investigation. It is a question of fact, what was the intention and moral character of pseudonymous writings in ancient times, to the discussion of which this paper is offered as a contribution; the bearing of the fact when ascertained on inspiration, or on the canonicity of particular books, is a different thing, which may be afterwards considered, but should be left out of view in the first place.

The practice of composing writings under fictitious names

[1] *The Writers of the New Testament*, p. 38.
[2] *Planting and Training of the Christian Church* (Eng. trans.), vol. ii., p. 15.

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is probably as old as literature; but it has flourished especially in ages and countries in which literary skill was well developed in a part of the community, while in the generality there was an ignorant regard for learning that could easily be imposed on. The former of these circumstances would provide the power to produce such artifices, and the latter would secure that they would be both highly esteemed and not easily detected. These conditions existed from about the third century before Christ to the revival of letters. Before the former time book-learning was not so much cultivated as to give facility and motive to literary fictions; and since the sixteenth century criticism has acquired such discernment, as to make it impossible that any such fiction should long escape detection. The formation of the two great public libraries, that in the Museum of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.), and that of Pergamus, founded by Eumenes II. (197–159 B.C.), created a great demand for copies of the works of famous authors; and since large prices were given for these by the competing librarians, there was a temptation to ascribe to an illustrious name any anonymous work that was similar to those that truly bore it. This tendency is sufficient to account for the circumstance, that among the writings ascribed to Plato, Aristotle, and other great authors are included many pieces that are not theirs, but the work of scholars and followers. Then, as it came to be perceived that copies of works by the old classic authors were far more highly valued than productions of contemporary writers, men found it the most profitable exercise of their literary skill to compose imitations of ancient works and palm them off as genuine. It would be the interest of the collectors of books, no less than of the writers of such imitations, to have as many as possible received as genuine; and though the science of literary criticism had its birth in that age, and its great leader Aristarchus, its

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methods were as yet very rude, and its tests of authenticity very far from searching.

The art of literary imitation, which was thus fostered by mercenary motives, came also to be often practised as a mere exercise of skill, and though naturally the test of success in such compositions would be the completeness of the deception effected, there might be no fraudulent purpose in the practice. Often however the secret was entirely kept, and unknown sophists foisted on the public works composed in the name of celebrated authors of earlier times, purely as efforts of literary art. Skill of this kind was obviously a dangerous weapon, and in the hands of an unscrupulous person might tempt him to an unworthy use of it for personal or party purposes. Especially frequent became the practice of endeavouring to gain acceptance for certain opinions or precepts by embodying them in works ascribed to venerated authorities. This could generally be better done by interpolations in genuine writings than by the composition of new ones; and a very early case of this kind is the conduct ascribed to Solon of inserting a verse in the *Iliad* to favour the Athenians' claims on the island of Salamis. Another motive that sometimes led to the assumption of a false name was the desire to conceal the authorship of unpopular opinions which would expose their propounder to discredit or danger. This was seldom necessary in the tolerant times of antiquity; the suspicious tyranny of the Roman emperors and the persecuting reign of orthodoxy gave too much occasion for it later.[1]

Besides these kinds of pseudonymous compositions, the reasons of which required that they should be seriously taken as the works of the assumed authors, there are two

[1] I need no apology for being indebted for the substance of the above paragraphs to Bentley's *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, at the outset of which he gives, as Prof. Jebb says, "in a few words a broad view of the origin and growth of literary forgery in the ancient world."—"English Men of Letters," *Bentley*. By R. C. Jebb, p. 67.

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other classes of such productions, in which that is not needed or desired. One may be called the dramatic, in which, for the purpose of bringing out with force and vividness the character and sentiments of a person in a certain situation, there are ascribed to him either spoken or written words, which the reader accepts only as what he might have said. Speeches of this kind, as parts of larger works, are as old as dramatic poetry of any kind; and were admitted by the ancient historians much more freely than by their modern successors. But separate compositions of this kind, such as the dramatic monologues with which Browning and Tennyson have made our age familiar, have not been very common; though Ovid's *Heroides* are a well-known example in ancient literature. In all such cases however the form is poetical, suited to the imaginative nature of the subject; and thus any possibility of deception is excluded. The effect aimed at by the author is not fully attained, unless the composition is known to be a work of fancy.

Another kind of pseudonymous writing in which no deception is meant may be described as ironical; which is used especially in controversy, when arguments against an opponent are put in the mouth of an imaginary person, inferior in knowledge or wisdom to the real author. Pascal's *Letters to a Provincial by one of his Friends*, in which in the character of a Parisian gentleman he exposes the morality of the Jesuits, afford the best specimen of this kind of composition; and examples may also be found in many of the papers of Steele and Addison, Swift's *Drapier's Letters*, Bentley's *Remarks on a Discourse on Freethinking*, in the character of a German scholar, Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*, etc. This is a literary development of the inimitable irony, or affected ignorance, of Socrates, exhibited in the Platonic dialogues; yet it is remarkable that there is no instance of such composition among the many pseu-

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donymous books of antiquity.[1] The essential feature, which gives controversial force to this style of writing, is that the character assumed is inferior to the real one; whereas the practice of those who wrote under false names in ancient times was rather to claim the superior authority of some great or venerable name.

Both the dramatic and the ironical form of pseudonymous composition require, for their appreciation, that the readers should have nearly as much literary culture as the writers; and hence could only flourish under conditions not favourable to successful deception. Thus since the revival of letters the dramatic form of fictitious authorship has very greatly increased, and the ironical may be said to have come into existence; while forms designed to be received as genuine have become rare or obsolete. The *Icon Basilike*, the Rowley poems of Chatterton, and the Ireland Shakspearian forgeries are the most noted in English literature; and these never obtained much or long credence.

It would seem therefore, from a general survey of the subject, that so far from innocent and recognised fictions in composition being more common in ancient than in modern literature, the very opposite is nearer the truth; for of ancient pseudonymous books a far larger proportion was meant to be received as genuine than of modern; and indeed it seems doubtful whether any but a very few were written in perfect good faith. The matter however deserves a closer investigation; and it may be ascertained whether this general presumption is borne out or modified, by examining, in the first place, how pseudonymous works are spoken of by ancient writers; and, secondly, what is the tone and character, in a moral point of view, of extant works that are undoubtedly pseudonymous. The former

[1] The device of Celsus, putting his arguments against Christianity in the mouth of a Jew, which Origen says was after the manner of the rhetoricians (*c. Cels.* i. 28), is not a parallel, since it occupied only part of his treatise.

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inquiry may disclose evidence of a general understanding to regard such work as a legitimate literary device; and the latter may show such a high moral tone in them, that we cannot believe their authors to have been wilful deceivers.

In considering the external aspect of ancient pseudonymous writings, or how they were regarded by intelligent readers, we get the most valuable information from the Christian writers of the early centuries; for they had occasion very often to refer to such works, and they had a high moral standard of judgment. If they are found speaking with respect of books which they recognise to be pseudonymous, this would afford a presumption that dramatic personation was viewed as a legitimate and well understood literary device. But, in fact, they speak in a quite different way. A book very often quoted by the Fathers, and one which many modern critics confidently pronounce to be an example of such innocent personation,[1] is that entitled the *Wisdom of Solomon*. It was highly esteemed by the early Christians; but they almost all regarded it as a genuine writing of Solomon, and an inspired and prophetic book. In this way it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria;[2] and Tertullian, in his rhetorical way, contrasting Christianity with Stoicism, the philosophy of the Porch, says: "Our instruction comes from the porch of Solomon" (referring to the testimony of the apostles in Acts iii.), and then he proceeds, "who has himself taught us that the Lord should be sought in simplicity of heart" (Wisdom i. 1).[3] Elsewhere he quotes Wisdom i. 6 as Divine,[4] and Wisdom ii. as a prophecy.[5] Hippolytus also quotes the book as a prophecy of Solomon about Christ.[6] Cyprian

[1] See Dr. S. Davidson's *Introduction to the Old Testament*; Plumptre on Ecclesiastes (in Cambridge *Bible for Schools*); Delitzsch on Ecclesiastes.

[2] *Strom.* vi. 15. [3] *De Præscriptione Hær.*, cap. vii. [4] *De Anima*, cap. xv.

[5] *Contra Marcionem* iii. 22. [6] *Contra Judæos*, capp. ix., x.

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quotes very loosely from the sapiential books, repeatedly using the phrase "in Solomon" with reference to the Wisdom of Ben Sirach; and once, after a quotation of Proverbs xiv. 25, as "in the proverbs of Solomon," adding Wisdom v. 1–9, with the words, "also in the same place." This last must have been a slip of memory, and so probably were the others; but Cyprian seems to have had no doubt that the book of Wisdom was by Solomon, and divinely inspired, for besides quoting it several times as sacred Scripture, he says expressly, "the Holy Spirit shows and predicts by Solomon." Lactantius and Melito of Sardes also refer to it as Solomon's and as Scripture. Origen in his treatise against Celsus calls it "Scripture," "the word of God," "the treatise of Solomon on wisdom"; but in the Latin version of his work *De Principiis*, we find expressions of doubt, as "Sapientia quæ dicitur Salomonis," and again the same phrase with the addition "qui utique liber non ab omnibus in auctoritate habetur." As the most distinct indications of dubiety occur only in Rufinus' Latin version of Origen's lost work, they may be due to the translator, who is known to have modified some of his author's expressions into conformity with the orthodoxy of the time; but even if they are by Origen himself, they only show that, as in regard to the Epistle of the Hebrews, he sometimes used the language of popular opinion, and sometimes expressed his own critical doubts. When the book was recognised to be undoubtedly not the work of Solomon, it was also judged not to be canonical, as by Jerome, who says that it is not found in Hebrew and is redolent of Greek style, and therefore should not be used to support any doctrine, though it may continue to be read in churches.[1] The only trace of its being regarded as authoritative, though not composed by Solomon, is to be found in an obscure and doubtful clause in the Fragment of Muratori,

[1] *Præfatio in Libros Salomonis.*

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which in the most literal form that is intelligible seems to say that Wisdom was written by the friends of Solomon in honour of him, and was held in authority in the catholic Church. But critics are very much divided in opinion as to the meaning and purpose of the statement; and some think that it refers, not to the book now known as the Wisdom of Solomon, but to the book of Proverbs, which was often called by that name in the ancient Church.[1] If there had been any general opinion that Wisdom was a legitimate dramatic personation, there would surely have been more evidence of it than this single doubtful statement. The prevalent belief of its genuineness is indeed very surprising, and shows how rude and inexact was the criticism of that age; but this makes it very unlikely that the author intended it to be received as anything else than a real writing of Solomon.

Another pseudonymous work, frequently quoted by early Christian writers, and referred to by heathen authors, is the collection of Sibylline oracles. These however are uniformly appealed to as real predictions by ancient Gentile prophetesses,[2] though a great part of them is undoubtedly of Jewish origin, and much is quite as certainly Christian. Origen says that Celsus charged the Christians with interpolating the Sibylline books; and the way in which he meets this charge is remarkable. He simply denies that Celsus had proved it, since he had not produced copies in which the alleged interpolations were absent.[3] Now it is very hard to believe that a man of Origen's learning and scholarship was unaware that some portions of these so called oracles were really the work of Christians not long before his own time. If he knew these parts of the collec-

[1] See the Fragment in its original and critically corrected form in Westcott on the *Canon of the New Testament*.

[2] This is done by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 20; *Coh. ad Gent.*, cap. 37; *Coh.*, cap. 38; Clemens Alex., *Prot.* cap. iv.; *Strom.* vi. 5; and others.

[3] *Contrà Celsum* v. 61 and vii. 56.

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tion, and believed them to be the utterances of the ancient sibyls, this gives a very astonishing idea of the uncritical character of the age. But perhaps it is not inconsistent with the general character of Origen as a controversialist[1] to surmise, that he may have been aware that his opponent's charge was not without foundation, and have adopted an evasive mode of answering it, so as neither to assert boldly the authority of these oracles, nor frankly to abandon testimonies on which many of his less learned fellow Christians laid much stress. Anyhow it is clear that the accusation of Celsus was one of forgery with intent to deceive; and that neither he nor Origen had any idea that such verses in the name of a sibyl might have been composed innocently as a mere literary device, such as Vergil's adaptation of Sibylline oracles to a Roman child in his fourth Eclogue.

Several other facts may be mentioned, as showing the view generally taken of pseudonymous books. Eusebius relates that Serapion, who was bishop of the Church at Antioch about 190 A.D., found the Gospel of Peter used in the Church at Rhossus in Cilicia, and at first did not object to its being read, though he did not believe it to be a genuine work of the apostle, but afterwards, when he found that they were being led into heresy, condemned it as the production of some of the Docetæ.[2] This shows that the mere fact of a book being known to bear a fictitious name was not sufficient of itself to condemn it, but that its use might be tolerated, if it were harmless; though such toleration proved in this case to be dangerous, and the fiction was not an innocent one.

Tertullian informs us, that the book entitled the "Acts

[1] A charge against Origen of want of candour and strict veracity as a controversialist is made by Bishop Horsley in regard to two points that came into discussion in his controversy with Dr. Priestley, and on both there seems to be too good ground for it.

[2] Eus., *H. E.*, vi. 12; comp. Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 342.

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of Paul and Thekla" was composed by a presbyter in Asia, who being convicted, and confessing that he had done it out of love to Paul, was removed from his office.[1] This shows what was the judgment of the Christian community on literary personation.

In the Muratorian Fragment, immediately before the obscure statement about Wisdom formerly quoted, there occurs this: "There is also in circulation another epistle to the Laodiceans [and another] to the Alexandrians, composed in the name of Paul bearing on the heresy of Marcion, and several others, which cannot be received into the catholic Church, for it is not fitting that gall be mingled with honey." It may be doubted whether these pseudonymous writings were regarded as gall, merely because they bore a false name, or also on account of their erroneous contents; but in general these two features were found together in the same books.

Thus Cyril of Jerusalem, when giving a list of the canonical books, says: "The four gospels alone, but the rest are falsely inscribed and hurtful (ψευδεπίγραφα καὶ βλαβερά). The Manichæans also wrote a Gospel according to Thomas, which, tinged with the fragrance of the evangelical title, corrupts the souls of the more simple."[2] Manichæans, on being received into the catholic Church, were required to abjure the use of apocryphal writings; and a bishop of the fifth century, Turibius, did not scruple to assert that they had either invented or corrupted every apocryphal book.

The circumstance that pseudonymous books were chiefly composed by heretics such as Gnostics[3] and Manichæans, may be accounted for, without ascribing to them an absolutely inferior morality, by the consideration that those who

[1] Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, cap. 17. [2] Cyril Hieros., *Catech.* iv. 36.
[3] This is stated by Hegesippus in Eus., *H. E.* iv. 22. See Mosheim, *Church History* i. 177.

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held theories not contained in the genuine apostolic writings would find a need and a temptation to discover other testimony in their favour, which was not felt by those who did not carry their speculations beyond the teaching of the acknowledged canonical books. Still even they were sometimes led by zeal and enthusiasm to imagine that Jewish and heathen predictions of Christ must have been more distinct than they really are, and in the desire of converting unbelievers to use or invent fictitious oracles.[1] The Ignatian Epistles, which, even if some be in substance genuine, were undoubtedly all interpolated, and some fabricated, in the interest of the episcopal government of the Church, afford proof that in the fourth century and afterwards the defenders of the catholic faith and Church order did not scruple to have recourse to such arts.

From these facts it would seem to follow, that in the early Christian centuries, when any work was given out as of ancient or venerable authorship, it was either received as genuine, which was done with very great facility of belief, or rejected as an imposture; that such fictions, though very common, were regarded, at least by the stricter Christian teachers, as morally blameworthy; and that the notion of dramatic personation as a legitimate literary device is never mentioned, and seems never to have been thought of as a defence of such compositions. If any author wrote a pseudonymous book in such a way, he must have been very unsuccessful in his purpose; for it was generally taken as a genuine work, or else rejected as feigned and worthless.

On the other hand, the great number of such compositions on moral and religious subjects that appeared in those times seems to show that they were not due to mere selfish or worldly motives, but that in some way or other

[1] See Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 355; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. 72 Mosheim, *loc. cit.*

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the deception of the readers was reconcilable with piety. This seems best accounted for by the prevalence of the idea that it was lawful, and sometimes necessary, to employ falsehood or fiction in support of religion, and to deceive men for their higher good. This view was held especially by the Pythagoreans and Platonists, who thought that a certain class of men were peculiarly fit, by mental ability or learning, to receive the highest truth, which could not be apprehended by the vulgar, and should not be divulged to them. These must be treated like children or imbeciles, whom it is lawful and expedient to deceive for their own good.[1] This view was adopted by Philo-Judæus,[2] and by some of the early Christian writers. It is easy to see how this theory and practice would be countenanced in the pagan world of those times by the fact that the philosophers, though entirely disbelieving the religion and mythology of the people, yet conformed to its rites in daily life, and maintained them as useful for public order; and it is equally obvious, that such a prevalent idea would make it seem to many earnest men quite legitimate to endeavour to impress moral and religious lessons by compositions deriving authority from fictitious names. This would not appear so glaring an inconsistency as it rightly does to us now. But since genuine Christianity rejects that depreciation of the profane vulgar which in some of the best systems of ancient philosophy was made a justification of such fictions, and attaches a more absolute obligation to truthfulness than current pagan morality did, everything of the nature of pious frauds was condemned by the more earnest Christian teachers, although with the rise of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in a later age such

[1] The system of the Pythagoreans and Platonists, veiling truth from the vulgar, is described by Clemens Alex., *Strom.* v. 8–10, and the legitimacy of deceiving men in certain cases for their own good is asserted by him, *ib.* vii. 9, as also by Plato, *Rep.* iii., p. 389, and by Origen, *c. Cels.* i., pref. § 5.

[2] *De Cherubim.*, p. 110.

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artifices were resorted to in support of the Church and her faith. Even in the apostolic age they seem not to have been entirely unknown. In 2 Thessalonians ii. 3 Paul warns his readers against being deceived into a belief of the immediate approach of the day of the Lord, either by spirit—that is, by fancied prophetic communication—or by word or by letter as from us—that is, by oral or written teaching purporting to come from Paul. A false report of his word might proceed from a mere mistake; but a letter wrongly ascribed to him could only be a fiction designed to deceive. That Paul anticipated that such practices would increase among those who departed from pure Christianity appears from 1 Timothy iv. 1, where he characterizes the seducers of the last days as "speaking falsely in hypocrisy," that is, acting a part,—a phrase which in its proper meaning exactly describes the literary forgeries that were so largely associated with Gnostic, Manichæan, and ascetic errors, such as he describes in the following verses.

The instances commonly adduced, when any evidence is indicated, in support of the statement that literary personation was anciently looked on as a legitimate form of composition, are the speeches in the Greek and Latin histories, Xenophon's and Plato's Apologies of Socrates, and the Dialogues of Plato as a whole. But of these only the Apologies of Socrates are cases of whole pieces written by one author in the name of another; they purport to be reports of what was spoken, not written, by the man whose name they bear; and that ascribed to Xenophon is judged by competent critics to be certainly spurious, while that of Plato was in all probability, not a mere production of his own imagination, but in substance a true record of what Socrates actually said.[1] The same thing may be asserted

[1] See Zeller, *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*, p. 165; also Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, and Whewell's *Platonic Dialogues for English Readers*.

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in regard to some of Plato's Dialogues, and the speeches given by the best historians; and though in others of these dialogues and speeches there is more imagination than fact, these are not analogous to entire letters and treatises bearing to have been written by one different from their real author. The greater freedom used by ancient than by modern historians in regard to speeches might raise a presumption that there would also be a more general recognition of imaginative personation in written documents; but the facts do not show that this was actually the case. The known instances of pseudonymous books were actually received as genuine, and presumably were designed to be so. When Delitzsch says,[1] "The arts by which it is sought to impart to that which is introduced into a more recent period the appearance of genuineness were unknown to antiquity," he makes too sweeping an assertion. It is true that imitative skill was not so great in ancient as in modern times; but it is not the fact that attempts were not made, by an archaic colouring of style, or imitation of the writer personated, to give an appearance of truth to the picture. The authors of the Sibylline oracles departed from the strict rules of versification observed in their own time, and affected the less regular metres of the Homeric poems, in order to give an air of antiquity to their productions; and Bentley mentions an odd forgery of Anaximenes the historian, who, "having a spite to his rival historian Theopompus, wrote a bitter invective against the three most powerful governments of Greece, the Athenian, Lacedæmonian, and Theban, where he exactly imitated Theopompus' style. This book he sends abroad in Theopompus' name, and so makes him odious all over Greece."[2] But while the imitation of the

[1] Introduction to Ecclesiastes (Eng. trans.), p. 208.

[2] "Dissertation on Phalaris," second edition, in Bentley's *Works*, edited by Dyce, vol. i., p. 87.

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style of another person or age was not unknown in antiquity, it would be unsafe to conclude that its absence is a sure proof that no deceit was intended, since that might be due to mere lack of ability or care on the part of the writer. The reading public was very easily imposed upon in ancient times, and the clumsiness of a forgery is no evidence of its innocence.

On the whole, the external evidence available on the subject points to the conclusion, not that avowedly dramatic fiction was a common form of literature in the times when pseudonymous books were most rife, but that there prevailed in those days a philosophic view and standard of morality which permitted earnest and good men to sanction and practise the use of falsehood in support of religion and morals. Whether the moral character of any certainly pseudonymous work is so high as to make this explanation impossible is a question that requires separate discussion.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

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LOST OR LATENT POWERS OF THE FIVE SENSES,

WITH RELATION TO 2 KINGS VI. 8–17 AND ST. LUKE XXIV. 13–35.

LOST *or* latent is a caption meant to indicate that they are alternative terms in the solution of the problem to which they refer. Perhaps it may serve to show our standpoint in respect of the former ("lost") if I begin with an illustration. On a recent pilgrim-visit to an Elizabethan mansion, a little discovery was communicated to us. Amongst other things, this historic mansion has some fine views from the windows. The rooms are old-fashioned and low-ceilinged, but have been adapted to modern ideas as well as circumstances permitted, without obliterating its ancient and quaint character. The present proprietor is proud of the place. One day, looking toward his house from the edge of a coppice, it struck him that there were faint traces of a window having been formerly in one of the angles where now there was only a dead wall. By means of a ladder, he made careful examination, and discovered that a window had been skilfully built up—so skilfully that an ordinary onlooker would never have suspected such a thing. It had been built up evidently for reasons of convenience in the interior. The point I wish to accentuate is, that the built up window commanded a *bit* of exquisite scenery not visible from any other window in the whole mansion.

Necessarily all analogies are imperfect, though the imperfection partakes of their quality. But I find this thought started by this discovery, that one might argue that at present a window may be curtained or shuttered which may yet open wide to the SPIRITUAL. And beyond this, one asks whether this window were not temporarily thrown open for God's seers? and that there may be a sixth sense as

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different from any one we now have as hearing is from smelling? and still further, why not this be one of the things LOST in the fall (accepting the tragic word)? I submit the illustration for what it is worth as a sanction of our use of "lost" as well as "latent." But I readily own that "latent" more nearly describes what I am anxious to bring out in this Bible-study.

As given in our heading, the example of LATENT POWER is fetched from the story of Elisha and his young attendant in beleaguered Dothan; and by it I find myself led forward to the co-equally remarkable one of the two "disciples" (query, husband and wife?) of Emmaus, who were overtaken by our Lord on their home-journey from Jerusalem on the great third day. Both seem to give us fore-glimpses and foretastes (so to say) of the probable aggrandisement of our five senses—arguing from one ("sight") to the other four. Let us as summarily as may be look into this matter.

In limine, I must state that I believe in the supernatural and miraculous and in a living providence of God, exactly as I believe in the existence of the natural and law-governed universe. But just now it is not required that one intermeddle with the problem or problems involved therein. For our present purpose it is sufficient to postulate that I accept alike the Old Testament and New Testament narratives as historic fact. Neither, I must further remark, am I called upon to offer any theory or explanation of the phenomena involved. These phenomena I receive precisely as I receive the phenomena of LIFE, without gainsaying as without attempt to get at their secret, which, as in so much else, God meanwhile holds in His own keeping.

I. 2 Kings vi. 8–17: "Now the king of Syria warred against Israel; and he took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such a place shall be my camp. And the man of God sent unto the king of Israel, saying, Beware that thou pass not such a place; for thither the Syrians are

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coming down. And the king of Israel sent to the place which the man of God told him and warned him of; and he saved himself there, not once nor twice. And the heart of the king of Syria was sore troubled for this thing; and he called his servants, and said unto them, Will ye not shew me which of us is for the king of Israel? And one of his servants said, Nay, my lord, O king: but Elisha, the prophet that is in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bed-chamber. And he said, Go and see where he is, that I may send and fetch him. And it was told him, saying, Behold, he is in Dothan. Therefore sent he thither horses, and chariots, and a great host: and they came by night, and compassed the city about. And when the servant of the man of God was risen early, and gone forth, behold, a host with horses and chariots was round about the city. And his servant said unto him, Alas, my master! how shall we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, I pray Thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." From this we learn that Elisha, the illustrious servant of Elijah, was now temporarily resident at Dothan, and that he was "wanted" by the king of Syria, in order that he might be on his side as against the king of Israel. Having discovered that Elisha was at Dothan, the king of Syria "sent thither," we read, "horses, and chariots, and a great host: and they came by night, and compassed the city about" (ver. 14). The circumstances were thus extremely perilous for the prophet of God, who necessarily had no "horses, or chariots, or hosts" of any kind, neither force of any kind to meet counter-forces. Nevertheless Elisha appears before us stout of heart. For we find that when, before the dawn of the next morning after the arrival of the royal "com-

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pany," intelligence was brought to him that "an host encompassed the city both with horses and chariots" (ver. 15), and his young attendant became terror-stricken, exclaiming, "Alas, my master! how shall we do?" that master answered courageously, "Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them" (ver. 16). Thus spake the man of God and man of faith—manifesting the same grand faith that sang later, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them" (Ps. xxxiv. 7); "He hath delivered my soul in peace from the battle that was against me: for they were many that strove with me" (Ps. lv. 18); "He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways" (Ps. xci. 11); and the same faith that bore up Hezekiah under the threats and insults of Sennacherib, and enabled him to hearten his captains of war, saying, "Be strong and of a good courage, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him: for there is a greater with us than with him: with him is an arm of flesh; but with us is the Lord our God to help us, and to fight our battles" (2 Chron. xxxii. 7): and yet again the same faith that inspired St. John to write those clarion words, "Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them: because greater is He that is in you than he that is in the world" (1 John iv. 4). May it not also be affirmed that it was the same faith that made Martin Luther go to the diet at Worms and John Knox to the council-meeting at Stirling? All honour to Elisha for his dauntless bearing! all honour to his unshakable faith! But be it noted that it was faith. Surely this renders it the more striking that Elisha should have asked something else, and so different, for his young servant!

En passant, it does not at all lessen, though it accounts for, the prophet's courage of faith, that it rested on a prior experience, when he had the veil that hides the unseen

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raised, on his master Elijah being taken away, as thus vividly told (2 Kings ii. 10–12): "And Elijah said, . . . If thou *see* me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so. And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared chariots of fire, and horses of fire, which parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. And Elisha saw it." All this being so, we are to understand that on the present occasion Elisha fell back on his former experience and knowledge; and though he himself neither needed nor asked a repetition of his vision of the armies of the Lord, he sought for his young attendant that he might have his alarm and distress hushed by a demonstration to his sense of sight of the reality of his master's assurance that it was literally true that there were "more with them" than all the hosts of the king of Syria. And so Elisha, not at all standing on his dignity, much less taking offence that, spite of his assurance, his young attendant still trembled, turned to the Lord and prayed, "Lord, I pray Thee, open his eyes, that he may see."

Before passing on, three subsidiary lines of thought inevitably call for brief statement.

1. Elisha, like the Roman centurion of Capernaum, was not above sympathising with and caring for his "servant" ("slave"?), and not only so, but was confident that the Lord God of Elijah and his God was interested in the humblest.

2. Elisha's prayer tells us that whatever the new power was that saw the else invisible, it was in his opinion communicable to the humblest, and so to his "servant."

3. Elisha did not strain or seek to over-prove the faith of his young attendant, but rather sought for him that he might walk by sight, albeit sight touched to finer issues.

In all this there is not a little that may well come home to our businesses and bosoms to-day.

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The narrative of the prayer of Elisha is very memorable (ver. 17): "And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, I pray Thee, open his eyes, that he may see." Equally memorable, and conveying a sense of swift and Divine immediateness and supernaturalness, is the record of the issue and answer: "And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." All that flaming splendour unsealed for the sake of one obscure, lowly, nameless "servant"! Only one other incident excels it —Jesus preaching one of His supremest revelations to the one woman by the well of Jacob!

We have thus before us the example of lost or latent powers of the five senses as contained in the Old Testament story. At this point therefore it will reward to ponder the employment of ordinary words to inform us on this extraordinary thing. The Hebrew verb פָּקַח and the Septuagint *διανοίγω*=to open by drawing asunder (*διά*), to open thoroughly what had been closed, are elsewhere used in Holy Scripture in the ordinary sense to "open" or "open up"; just as Elisha in his prayer uses the ordinary word meaning to "see," while the fulfilment is recorded by the same word, "and he saw" (חָזָה, חָזָא). It is here I find the "latent" power that is the subject of this exposition. For as I read the story of Dothan, the "opening" was of the young man's natural eyes, but after such sort that, to his ordinary faculty of ordinary seeing or vision, was super-added the extraordinary faculty of seeing the otherwise unseen. To my mind there is revealed in this something infinitely deeper than the modern fable of "eyes and no eyes"; infinitely deeper than such incident as is told of Hagar, "And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water" (Gen. xxi. 19)—meaning that her tear-dimmed eyes were divinely guided to "see" a well that otherwise she should have overlooked. In short, I find in the narrative of

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the answered prayer of Elisha the impartation of a new faculty to the eyes, and a new faculty to the soul through the eyes, of the young man, whereby he saw the encompassing armies of God. I must also infer from this bestowment on Elisha and his attendant, that we have herein set before us possibilities of the enrichment and ennoblement of the sense of sight (to begin with) as opens up a whole world of delightful speculation, and that may well kindle hopes that, wonderful as is the sense of sight (selecting it) in our present experience, it is far beneath what it may yet attain.

II. The same line of thought-speculative (not imaginative) belongs to the corresponding New Testament incident already designated, as recorded in St. Luke xxiv. 13–35. I confine myself now to the two things contained in vers. 16 and 31 respectively, "their eyes were *holden* that they should not know Him," and "their eyes were *opened*, and they knew Him." The phrasing of the former, *ἐκρατοῦντο τοῦ μή*, . . . seems indubitably to express a supernatural agency being employed to produce the effect of non-recognition. That is the least we can take out of "holden" (*κρατέω*). The phrasing again in the latter, *αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί*, . . . seems similarly to assume a supernatural "opening"; that is, a release from the previous "holding" or hindering.

Without going into details, or confusing exposition with exegesis, we have here again the sense of sight controlled, on the one hand hinderingly and on the other helpingly. So that, though variant from the Old Testament story in its accidents, the same phenomena of "latent powers" is illustrated. Hence I again find in this New Testament incident warrant for anticipating that sight will be a measurelessly greater, nobler, diviner thing than it is at present. For the conclusion is inevitable that there are "lost" or "latent powers" in man's senses that only require Divine

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"opening" to engrandeur them—as with sight—into higher and still higher faculties.

We must notice also the simpleness of the working out of the result. Going back upon the "opening" of the eyes of the "young man," and on the "opening" of the eyes of the two disciples, one has a feeling that, prodigious as was the aggrandisement of the sense, it came as quietly and unremarkably as "opening" the eyes or dropping the eyelids. A good man's prayer of half a second or less, and immediately we read, "And he *saw*: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." And again: for an hour or more the two disciples' eyes were "holden" that "they should not know Him"; and contemporaneously the sense of hearing must have been in some way suspended, or they must have recognised the old, familiar tones. But by-and-by we find "their eyes were *opened*, and they knew Him." Can it be questioned that all this permits us to infer that even now a Divine touch or look upon us, and these mortal eyes of ours should "see" God's ministering spirits hastening hither and thither; "see" a thousand and one evidences of a living Providence; "see" that no child of God is alone, but is God-guarded? One's bosom swells, is "enlarged," one's forefeeling of one's destiny greatens, in the anticipation of the "ampler air" we are appointed to breathe, and the purer light we shall yet "see."

I would shun spiritualizing; but, combining with the simpleness of the Divine operation in revealing "lost" or "latent powers," may we not find a symbol herein of that "opening" of eyes which takes place under the gospel? We meet with fellow men whose eyes are shut and sealed. We argue with them. We point them to this and that, and then we ask in amazement, *Don't you see it?* They really do not. Should we not take Elisha's way, and "pray" God to "open" their eyes?

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I have thus far taken sight to represent the five senses. But the same inference applies to hearing, smelling, tasting, touching. He who made the eye made the ear; and it is congruous to conclude that, marvellous as is our present sense of hearing, it may well be a mere beginning of its faculty. The micrometer of Edison has revealed a new world of possible observation and record of hitherto unrecognisable sounds. But the one discovery and invention makes us feel that we are standing on the borderland of many kindred. Who so recently as a couple of years ago would have credited that the walking of a fly across a window-pane, and even over a ceiling, could be, and would be, made audible? Yet it is so. So that I for one am shut up to think that in the "highest height" of present attainment there are still "higher heights"; in short, that the sense of hearing as we now exercise it is as nothing to what it is predestined to become. The "music of the spheres" may yet be heard, and even grander things. In thus writing, I but argue from the exaltation of sight to the exaltation of hearing.

Smelling in our chill Western countries is a very meagre sense compared with what it is in the East; *id est*, as a source of God-intended enjoyment for man. One who travels in the East—in the lands of the Bible—is much struck with the deliciousness of scents, perfumes, fragrances, sweet smells there. These enter into the daily life, into the familiar use and wont, of nearly all classes. So that one retains a charming recollection of the refreshment and pleasantness of the exercise of the sense of smell in the East, especially when, foot-sore and tired, we were passed into the bath, and came forth with such *élan* of refreshment as words are poor to utter.

The sense of smell is greatly undervalued with us as a source of gratification. Nay, it is cruelly sinned against by that still too common indulgence which the negro wisely

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refused by saying, "No, massa; me nose no hungry." I met with no users of snuff in the East. It would have been treason to lands so odorous.

When we come to study it, it surprises how frequently in Holy Scripture the sense of smell is addressed.

The possibilities of aggrandisement of the sense of smell, co-equally with sight and hearing, is further seen when its exercise is observed among the Bedawin of the desert and the Red Indians of America. Their sense of smell—as of water at a great distance, of a trail of game—is acute as against our dulness.

Even more humiliatingly, we get insight into what the sense of smell is—its richness, its informingness, its supremacy, its divineness—in, *e.g.*, the dog. I sometimes think that the nose of a greyhound or of almost any dog is as wonderful a contrivance as the eye or ear. Here is an actual case. "Clyde" is a short-haired, pure-bred Scotch collie. Some years ago he "took" to one of the students—call him Frank Richardson—in a certain college, who afterwards went as a missionary to the Congo. About a year ago he had to come home unexpectedly on furlough. He came off so suddenly, that the letter to tell of his coming was in his pocket. He came to the door of one of the professors, to whom "Clyde" belonged, straight from the steamer at Plymouth, and absolutely unannounced. Before he had knocked "Clyde" rushed to the front door in a state of the wildest excitement for joy, and as soon as the door was opened, leaped to embrace him. How did the dog know sooner than the professor and his family circle? There are "strange things in heaven and earth." I can conceive the transference to man of this higher function given to smell. So conceiving, I get another glimpse into the possibilities of "lost" or "latent powers" of the five senses.

Tasting adds so much to the enjoyment of life, owing

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as we do to it zest, relish, agreeableness in daily food, that a separate argument might be constructed for this sense also being exalted far above present attainment, and becoming the co-equal of its associate senses. Take the element of sin out of it, and how Divine a faculty might not taste become!

Touch is to be studied at its present best in the blind, and deaf, and dumb. Into how exquisite a sense it grows in them! How does even the boasted tactile sensibility of Meissonier's fingers sink into insignificance beside the story of Laura Bridgman! Born without sight, hearing, smelling, tasting, with only touch, this extraordinary woman, through this solitary and relatively inferior sense, came to know God, and to reveal an intellect of exceptional strength and varied capacity, and a heart tender and loving. What a conception her case gives us of the soul, when a soul that was despoiled of the four senses, and dumb, nevertheless by the sense of touch grew to be what she did grow to be, and to do what she did! So here again this very capacity within these limits leads us up to the "lost" or "latent powers" of the five senses, when, present limitations being removed, and present circumstances changed, we shall rise to our full dignity.

I close our study with indicating other three things suggested by our observations:

1. The question rises, "What is the spiritual body?" *Certes* not matter thinned into thinnest air, but an actual body, made "like unto Christ," which He Himself declared to be of "flesh and blood and bones," and in which He ate of "broiled fish and honey" as before (St. Luke xxiv. 42). We must think of the "spiritual body" as possessed of larger and more wonderful powers, and as wholly responsive to the pure spirit that dominates it, and as somehow *en rapport* with the heavenly and unseen, though still remaining a human body.

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2. We are constrained to link on the whole of our present inquiry with the great words of St. Peter, "partakers of [a] Divine nature" (2 Pet. i. 4), as if something nobler than pantheism in its most glittering dream ever conceived were waiting for God's redeemed. The "Divine nature" pointed at was (I judge) of "God manifest in the flesh," Jesus Christ. How august the destiny of conformity to Him! and how does this ratify our idea of "lost or latent powers of the five senses"!

3. We have all been witness or have heard of premanifestations of the heavenly state on this hither side. I select one out of many known to me. Miss A. B. was dying of consumption. Within a short time of her death, a radiance suddenly overspread her face, as if a gleam of morning sunshine had fallen upon it. She cried out in a rapture of joy, "O my Saviour, I am coming!" And then turning to her friends, as if amazed at their unmovedness, she asked, "Do you not see Him? It is heaven to see Him." She spoke as collectedly and sensibly as when in health. I dare not say there was not reality there. I find in it something as if the bird-soul in the close of Blair's *Grave* saw the sun rising in the east. Dr. John Macfarlane's *Night Lamp* tells as striking a thing of his dying sister Agnes.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

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GOD NOT THE AUTHOR OF EVIL, BUT OF GOOD.

"Do not err, my beloved brethren. Every good gift and every perfect boon is from above, coming down from the Father of the lights, in whom is no change, nor shadow cast by turning. Of His own will begat He us, by a word of truth, that we should be a kind of firstfruit of His creatures."—JAMES i. 16–18.

THE origin of evil is a problem which, in all probability, will never be solved until we reach the world in which there is no evil. But though we cannot solve it, and do not much hope to solve it, it is a problem to which our thoughts will recur; it presses itself on us at every turn, and we are grateful for any hint that lightens the pressure. If only we knew how to state the problem, or even how to approach it, that would be something; it would be much, for a question rightly asked is already half answered. And I think we should do well to approach this problem from its brighter, rather than from its darker, side. I see more hope of our learning what evil is, and even whence it came, if, instead of at once attacking these questions, we first ask ourselves what goodness is and whence that came.

Now by "goodness" we mean moral goodness; goodness as it exists, or may exist, in man. And by human or moral goodness we mean, not a mechanical and involuntary conformity to law, but a free and willing choice of the righteousness which the law ordains. A compulsory rectitude, a mechanical and necessary conformity to law, is *not* rectitude; it implies no goodness, no virtue, in the sense in which we apply those terms to men. If I do what is right, not of my own free will, but simply because I cannot help it, because there is some force or law in my nature which irresistibly compels me to do it, I am no more good than the stars are good for keeping their orbits, or the

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flowers for opening their leaves. Moral goodness implies free choice, and how can there be a free choice of that which is good if there be no possibility of choosing evil rather than good? The will of man *must* have this solemn alternative before it—good or evil—if it is ever to become a good will.

God does not *make* us good therefore, but He has so made us *that we may become good*; and in order that we may become good, we must be free to choose evil. How can He *make* us good if goodness means a free choice of that which is good? If He were to constrain our will, leaving us no alternative, we might have the goodness proper to the inanimate or irrational creation, but we could not have the goodness proper to humanity. *He* is good, perfectly and absolutely good, because His will is fixed in its choice of goodness; and only as our wills rise to that steadfast attitude can we become good.

Now if we start from this conception of goodness, we shall define its moral opposite, *evil*, as the wrong choice of the will; we shall say that, just as men become good by freely choosing and doing that which is right, so they become evil by freely choosing and doing that which is wrong. And we shall not blame God for their bad choice, nor for leaving them free to make it; we shall admit that He must leave their will free if they are to be really good, and that, if the will is to be left free, it must be possible for them to choose evil rather than good. Thus we shall reach the conclusion that evil is from man, not from God; that it is no fatal necessity imposed upon them from above, but a wrong choice which they have made when a right choice was open to them.

This, as you know, is the conclusion of St. James. He will not hear of evil being from God, of its being "a lower form of good," or "goodness in the making." God, he says, is unversed in evil, incapable of it. It has no seductions

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for Him. He is too wise to be deceived by it, too pure to feel any charm in it. Evil does not come, and cannot come, from Him, because it has no existence in Him. It comes from men, to whom evil may assume the form of good, betraying them into a wrong choice. Every man, says the Apostle, has some craving in him which may grow into a lust; some craving which, though innocent in itself, may be allowed to run to excess and demand an unlawful indulgence. That which is pleasant to our eyes may become so pleasant and desirable that, to gratify our longing for it, we break through all the restraints of law and reason and conscience; and thus we may be enticed by our lust into a sin, and the sin may breed a habit of sinning, and this habit may unknit all the energies of life till at last we lapse into death.

But all this is not the will of God for us. He has appointed us unto life. He is ever seeking to restrain the passions and lusts that work death in us, to draw our wills into harmony with His pure and righteous Will, that we may become as incapable of evil as He Himself.

That evil springs from human lust, not from the will of God, St. James has shown us in the verses which precede these; and he now goes on to show how impossible it is that evil should come from God by considerations drawn from what God is in Himself, and from what He has done for us.

Even his opening phrase, "*Do not err*, my beloved brethren," indicates that he is about to resume and carry further the argument with which he has already dealt; for the words rendered "do not err" occur in other places in the New Testament, though in every other passage they are translated, "Be not deceived"; and wherever the phrase is used, it implies not only that the theme in hand is of grave moment, and one in which we may easily fall into grievous mistake, but also that it is about to be pushed

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a step further, that a new aspect of it is to be placed before us, or a new argument brought forward to confirm it.

Now on this question of the origin of evil men do perpetually err. They ascribe it to a Divine origin. They attribute the force of passions, which they have not learnt to rule, to their constitution and temperament; *i.e.* to Him who, as they put it, "made them what they are," forgetting how much they have done to make or unmake themselves. Or they ascribe the indulgence of these passions to the force of circumstances; *i.e.* to the providential arrangements of God. The old excuse, "The woman whom *Thou* gavest to be with me, she tempted me, and I did eat," takes a hundred different forms on the sinner's lips, but always rings out with the tones of that ancient reproach. Nay, even good men, basing their opinion on passages of Scripture which they have not studied in their original connexions—such passages, for example, as "I (the Lord) form light and *create darkness*, I make peace and *create evil*," which have nothing to do with the question before us —often conceive of evil as being, in some sense, the work of God, and bow before a mystery they cannot explain.

St. James will have no part in such opinions as these. He affirms that they are "deceived" who frame and hold them. Evil only too certainly *is*, but he is sure that it is not from God. And he tries to make us sure by giving us the facts and arguments which had most impressed his own mind.

His first argument is drawn from the conception he had formed of the nature of God. God cannot be the author of evil, he argues, because He is the author of good, because He is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all. "*Every good gift and every perfect boon*" is from Him; or, as the Greek implies, all that comes to us from God is good, and every good gift of His bestowal is perfect as well as good, perfect in kind and degree. But if all He gives is

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good, and even perfect, how can evil and imperfection spring from Him? "Doth the fountain send forth, from the same jet, sweet water and bitter?" And if we cannot have bitter water and sweet from the same spring, how can good and evil flow from the same source? As Bishop Sanderson has it, "We are unthankful if we impute any good but to God, and we are unjust if we impute to Him anything but good."

St. James, however, is not content with the argument from the acknowledged and absolute goodness of God. With the ease and simplicity which we so much admire in the proverbs and parables of our Lord, he rises into a fine illustration of his argument. The illustration comes to this: "You might as well, and much more reasonably, attribute darkness to the sun, as impute evil to God." But mark for a moment with what a natural and unforced ease he passes to his illustration. He had said, "Every good gift and every perfect boon is *from above*," from yonder fair, pure world on high. And as, in thought, he glances upward to that world, he sees the sun which God has set to rule the day, the moon and the stars which He has set to rule the night. Of these lights God is "the Father," and of all lights. But can the source and fountain of all light be the source and fountain of all darkness? Impossible. The sun gives light, and only light. If we are in darkness, that is only because the world has turned away from the sun, or our hemisphere of the world. And, in like manner, God gives good gifts, and only good. If we are plunged in the darkness and misery of evil, that is not because He has ceased to shine, or has ceased to be good and to do good, but because we have turned away from Him, and abused His gifts to our hurt.

Thus, and so naturally, does St. James bring in his illustrative thought. But even yet he is not content with it. The thought grows as he considers it, grows somewhat

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thus. The Father of the lights must be more perfect than the lights He has called into being. They vary; even the sun for ever shifts its place, and its relation to the earth. They move and revolve; the sun seems to forsake the earth and leave it in darkness, and the moon turns on its axis, averting from us its bright face, and casting its shadow over the world. But whatever inconstancy there may be in them, there is none in Him who made them. The original Source of light must be all light, and pure, unchanging light. The Light which kindled the sun must be above that of the sun. There can be no darkness in Him or from Him. From Him there ever streams down the influences which enlighten and fructify the world. He is good, and doeth good only and continually.[1]

So that St. James's first two arguments against attributing evil to God are the negative and positive aspects of one and the same argument. He argues, first, that evil cannot be from God, because there is no evil in Him; and, secondly, because He is the sole Source of all good, because none but good and perfect gifts come down from Him.

And now he advances another step. He argues that evil cannot be of God, because, of His own free will, God sets Himself to counterwork the death which evil works in us, by quickening us to a new and holy life: "*Of His own will begat He us, by a word of truth.*" We may find it difficult to frame any conception of the nature and character of God that will always be authoritative to us, and unimpeachable. How then shall we come to know Him, and even to know Him as He is? Nature and Providence speak, or seem to speak, of Him with questionable and conflicting voices. If at times they reveal His lovingkindness, at other times

[1] St. James's words, *without shadow or turning*, are capable, in the original, of an interpretation ("without parallax or shadow cast by revolution") that accords more or less with the technicalities of modern science, and have often been forced into accordance with it. But it is an obvious anachronism to credit him with a knowledge of the terminology of modern astronomical science.

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they reveal His severity. Where shall we find an authority that will end the strife?

Well, if we are perplexed about the character of any great man, can we do better than take the greatest action of his life, that which he did most freely and in his most characteristic way, and infer the prevailing bent of his character from that? If, for example, you doubt, from what you see of the petty details of his life, whether a man be stingy or generous, and can reach no certain conclusion about him; and if, while you hang in doubt, you learn that on a certain critical occasion he freely gave or risked all that he had in order to save from ruin a neighbour who had no claim upon him, nay, who had injured and maligned him,—would you thereafter have any doubt what his true character was? From that time forth you would hold him to be of a noble and generous spirit.

Somewhat in this fashion would St. James have us reach our conception of the Divine character. He would have us ask, "What event is there in the history of the world in which God most spontaneously and most fully revealed Himself to men?" And, of course, if we ask that question, the answer must be, that in all which is connected with the gift of His Son for the redemption and renewal of mankind, we have God acting most freely—for what was there in us to induce such a sacrifice?—and most clearly and fully disclosing His character—for what greater thing than this could even He do for us?

Take then this salvation, this new birth of the spirit in man, and what light does it throw on the question, "Whence does evil spring? can it come from God?" If we, when we were sinners, were redeemed and made anew by the free action of the Divine will, can we for a moment suppose that evil sprang from the will which delivered us from evil? Must we not gratefully confess that when we see the will of God acting most freely, it works for a good

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so vast and undeserved as to be well-nigh incredible? We must and do confess it. We acknowledge with joyful certainty and gratitude that He who begat us to a new and holy life, when we were "dead in trespasses and sins," must hate the evil from which He delivered us, that He cannot have been the author of that which He sent His Son to destroy.

But here, finally, an objection may be urged to our conclusion which, though it would not suffice to overthrow it, might, if it could be sustained, deprive us of the pleasure with which we rest in it. It may be said, "You who are redeemed, and born anew by the grace of God, at the word of His truth, may have reason to believe in His goodness: but what reason has the world at large, the world which is not saved as yet?"

Perhaps, in logic, it would be a sufficient answer to this objection were we to say: "The world *may* be saved if it will; God is always trying to save it; but, as we have seen, good as He is, He cannot make men good against their will. Goodness is a free choice of that which is good. And hence, if the world is not saved, it is not because God is not of an absolute goodness, but because the world is of an evil will, and will go after its lusts."

Logically, the answer is fair enough; but our hearts are not to be satisfied by mere logic, and they crave a more tender and hopeful answer than this. Happily, St. James supplies the very answer they crave. God, he says, has begotten *us*, by some word of truth which met our inward needs, into a new and better life; and therefore we are sure that He hates evil and death. But He has begotten us, not simply that we ourselves may be saved from evil, but also "*that we should be a kind of firstfruit of His creatures.*" Now the consecration of the firstfruits of the earth was a recognition of God's claim to the whole harvest, and a pledge that it should be devoted, in various ways, to

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His service. This was the great lesson of the firstfruit offering. It was not a tax on payment of which the harvest was to be exempted; it was a confession that it was all the gift of God, and was all due to Him. When, therefore, St. James says that the regenerate are a kind of firstfruit of the creation, so far from implying that they alone are to be saved, he implies that "all flesh shall see the salvation of God," and that "the whole creation" shall have a part in their redemption. How the mercy which is *over* all is to come *to and upon* all, is a mystery we cannot fathom. But our hearts do not insist on apprehending that mystery, though they desire to look into it. They are content with the hope, the consolation, that in some way their own new life is the pledge of new life to untold myriads of mankind. To be saved from the clutch of evil is much; but, oh, how much more if our redemption implies a redemption which extends through the entire universe! To be ourselves brought into the temple and laid on the altar of God were much; but that which completes our blessedness is that we are brought in as a kind of firstfruit, a pledge of the coming harvest.

St. James, then, has four arguments against attributing evil to God. Evil cannot be from God, (1) because there is no evil in Him; (2) because all that comes from Him is good; (3) because of His own free will He has quickened the life that conquers evil in many souls; and (4) because it is His design that, at the last, evil shall be overcome of good, and death be swallowed up of life.

S. Cox.

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ON SOME FRAGMENTS OF A PRE-HIERONYMIAN LATIN VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

(*Concluded*).

QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
LVIII.	GEN. XXVII. 8–10.	GEN. XXVII. 8–10.
Quid est: nunc ergo fili audi me: et perge ad oves: et accipe mihi inde duos hædos *emolles* (molles) *Ægyptios* (B. in margin *et optimos*), et fac cito eos patri tuo escas quas (ut) amat, et manducabit, et *benedicet* (benedicat) te ante mortem?	Nunc ergo fili, audi me, . . . et vade ad oves, et sume mihi duos hædos teneros, et bonos . . . Vers. Lugd.: Nunc ergo fi[li audi] me, sicut eg[o tibi] praecipio: [uade] ad oves, et [accipe] mihi inde [duos ae]dos bono[s et tene]ros, et f[aciam eos] esca pa[tri tuo sicut] amat. E[t inferes pa]tri tuo, [et mandu]cabit, [ut bene]dica[t te pater tuus], pri[usquam moria]tur. Sabatier notes that in above *accipe* is read instead of *sume* in August., Qu. 117 in Gen., to. 3, col. 406 f, and Hieronym, *Ep. ad Damas.*, to. 2, col. 519b.	Nunc ergo fili mi, acquiesce consiliis meis: et pergens ad gregem, affer mihi duos hædos optimos, ut faciam ex eis escas patri tuo, quibus libenter vescitur: quas cum intuleris et comederit, benedicat tibi priusquam moriatur.
LIX.	GEN. XXVII. 11.	GEN. XXVII. 11.
Ad (ut) quid respondit Iacob, (est) Esau frater meus vir *est* (B. omits *est* here) pilosus, ego vero *leuis* (lenis): (timeo) ne forte palpauerit me	Ecce Esau frater meus vir pilosus, et ego sum vir lenis. Vers. Lugd.: Dix[it autem Iacob] ad [Rebeccam ma]t[rem suam: Est]E[sau	Cui ille respondit: Nosti quod Esau frater meus homo pilosus sit, et ego lenis: si attrectaverit me pater meus, et senserit, timeo ne

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
pater, et inveniar in conspectu eius tanquam *contemptator* (contemptor)?	pilosus], e[go autem] lenis sum. Ne forte palpet me pater meus, et ero ante eum sicut contep[to]r.	putet me sibi voluisse illudere.
LX.	GEN. XXVII. 12, 13. (*Itala deest*). Vers. Lugd.:	GEN. XXVII. 12, 13.
Ad (ut) quid dicente eo: adducat super me maledictionem *et non* (pro) benedictionem (benedictione), mater ait: Super me maledictio *ista* (tua) fili?	Et inducam su[pe]r me maledic[tu]m et non bene[dict]ionem. [Dixit a]utem ei ma[ter ei]us: super me [ma]ledictum [tuum], fili. Sabatier notes that *maledictio tua* is read in August. *Commem. Serm.* 4, to. 5, col. 17b.	Et inducam super me maledictionem pro benedictione. Ad quem mater: In me sit, ait, ista maledictio, fili mi.
LXI.	GEN. XXVII. 15.	GEN. XXVII. 15.
Quare accepit Rebecca stolam Esau bonam, quæ erat apud ipsam in domo: et vestiuit Iacob?	Et sumsit Rebecca vestimenta Esau filii sui maioris, quæ erant desiderabilia valde apud se domi. Vers. Lugd.: [Et accipiens Reb]ecca [stolam Esau] apud [ipsam domi i]n[duit filio s]uo iuniori. Sabatier notes Ambrose as using *stolam* in citing this passage.	Et vestibus Esau valde bonis, quas apud se habebat domi, induit eum.
LXII.	GEN. XXVII. 16. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.:	GEN. XXVII. 16.
Qnare pelles super	16. Et pelliculas	Pelliculasque hæ-

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
brachia et nuditatem colli posuit?	aedorum circumdedit super brachia eius et super nudam ceruicem eius.	dorum circumdedit manibus, et colli nuda protexit.
LXIII.	GEN. XXVII. 17. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Et dedit aepulas et panes quos fecerat, in manus Iacob fili sui.	GEN. XXVII. 17.
Quid est: Dedit *Iacob* (B. in text *Isaac*, but in marg. *Esau*) (et) panes quos fecit in manibus *Isaac* (Iacob)?		Deditque pulmentum, et panes, quo coxerat, tradidit.
LXIV.	GEN. XXVII. 18, 19.	GEN. XXVII. 18, 19.
Quare interrogante patre: Quis es tu, fili? dixit: Ego *sum* (B. omits *sum*) Esau primogenitus tuus: feci *secundum quod* (B. *sicut*) locutus es mihi?	. . . Et dicit: Pater? Et ille: Quis es tu, fili? . . . Ego sum primogenitus tuus Esau: feci sicut locutus es mihi. Vers. Lugd.: Dixit autem ad patrem suum: Pater. Et ille dixit: Ecce sum ego. Et dixit Isaac: Quis es tu, fili? Et dixit Iacob patri suo: Ego sum Esau primogenitus tuus: feci sicut locutus es mihi.	. Dixit: Pater mi? At ille respondit, Audio. Quis es tu, fili mi? Dixitque Jacob: Ego sum primogenitus tuus Esau: feci sicut præcepisti mihi.
LXV.	GEN. XXVII. 20.	GEN. XXVII. 20.
Quare dixit pater: Quid est hoc quod tam cito invenisti, *O fili* (fili mi)?	Quid est hoc quod tam cito invenisti, fili mi? Vers. Lugd.: Dixit autem Isaac filio suo: quid hoc est quod tam cito inveneris, fili?	Rursumque Isaac ad filium suum: Quomodo, inquit, tam cito invenire potuisti, fili mi?

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
LXVI.	GEN. XXVII. 20.	GEN. XXVII. 20.
Quare respondit: *Quia* (quod) tradidit dominus in *conspectu* (pectore) meo?	Quod tradidit Dominus Deus in manus meas. Vers. Lugd.: Qui dixit: Quod tradidit Dominus Deus tuus ante me.	Qui respondit: Voluntas Dei fuit ut cito occurreret mihi quod volebam.
LXVII.	GEN. XXVII. 21. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.:	GEN. XXVII. 21.
Quare dixit, Approxima *mihi* (B. omits *mihi*), et palpabo te, fili, si tu es filius meus Esau?	Dixit autem Isac ad Iacob: accede ad me, ut palpem te, fili, si tu es filius meus Esau an non.	Dixitque Isaac: accede huc, ut tangam te, fili mi, et probem utrum tu sis filius meus Esau, an non.
LXVIII.	GEN. XXVII. 22.	GEN. XXVII. 22.
Quare post palpatum dicitur: Vox quidem uox Iacob, manus uero manus Esau? (B. reads: *uox Iacob: manus uero manus sunt Esau.*)	. . . Vox quidem, vox Iacob: manus autem, manus Esau. Vers. Lugd.: Et palpauit eum, et dixit: uox quidem, uox Iacob: manus autem, manus Esau.	Palpato eo dixit Isaac: Vox quidem, vox Iacob est; manus autem, manus sunt Esau.
LXIX.	GEN. XXVII. 23. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd:	GEN. XXVII. 23.
Quid est: non cognovit eum? erant enim manus eius quasi (manus) Esau fratris eius.	Et non cognouit eum: et erant manus eius sicut manus Esau fratris eius.	Et non cognovit eum, quia pilosæ manus similitudinem maioris expresserant.
LXX.	GEN. XXVII. 24.	GEN. XXVII. 23, 24.
Quare ait: Benedixit eum et dixit: Si tu es filius meus Esau? Perhaps *si* is a mistranslation of εἶ, as if it were εἰ.	. . . Tu es filius meus Esau. . . . Vers. Lugd.: Et benedixit eum. Et dixit, Tu es filius meus Esau.	Benedicens ergo illi, ait: Tu es filius meus Esau.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
LXXI.	GEN. XXVII. 25–27.	GEN. XXVII. 25–27.
Quare cum manducasset, odoratus uestimenta: dicitur benedixisse eum?	Et manducabo . . . et odoratus est odorem vestis eius, et benedixit eum. Vers. Lugd.: 25 Et manducavit . . . 27 . . . Et odoravit odorem vestimentorum eius, et benedixit eum, et dixit.	Cum . . . comedisset . . . statimque ut sensit vestimentorum illius fragrantiam, benedicens illi, ait.
LXXII.	GEN. XXVII. 27.	GEN. XXVII. 27.
Quare sic incipit benedicere: ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni quem benedixit Deus?	Itala agrees in words of benediction. Vers. Lugd. has *fili* for *filii* and *quam* for *quem*.	Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni, cui benedixit dominus.
LXXIII.	GEN. XXVII. 28.	GEN. XXVII. 28.
Ad quid ait: Det tibi Deus de rore cæli et de pinguedine terræ abundantiam? (Basle ed.: Ut quid ait: Dabit tibi Deus de rore cæli et de pinguedine terræ?)	Et det tibi deus de rore cæli et de ubertate terræ et multitudinem, etc.. Vers. Lugd.: Et det tibi deus a rore caeli desusum et a pinguidine terrae multitudinem.	Det tibi deus de rore cæli et de pinguedine terræ abundantiam.
LXXIV.	GEN. XXVII. 29.	GEN. XXVII. 29.
Quare dixit: Servient tibi gentes?	Et serviant tibi gentes. Sabatier notes that August., *Serm.* 4, to. 5, col. 22, has *servient*; so also Cyprian. Vers. Lugd.: Et serviant tibi gentes.	Et serviant tibi populi.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
LXXV.	GEN. XXVII. 29.	GEN. XXVII. 29.
Quid est (quare dixit): Adorabunt te principes?	Adorent te principes. Sabatier notes that Augustine and Cyprian read *adorabunt*. Vers. Lugd.: Adorent te principes.	Adorent te tribus.
LXXVI.	GEN. XXVII. 29.	GEN. XXVII. 29.
Quid est: esto dominus fratris tui?	Et fiere dominus fratris. Sabatier notes that *Vet. Iren. Interp.*, l. 5, c. 33, p. 332, has *esto* for *fiere*. Vers. Lugd.: Et fias dominus fratris tui.	Esto dominus fratrum tuorum.
LXXVII.	GEN. XXVII. 29.	GEN. XXVII. 29.
Quid est quod dicit: Qui te maledixerit, maledictus erit: et qui te benedixerit, benedictus? (B. omits *quod dicit*, and for *benedictus* has *benedictionibus repleatur*.)	Qui maledixerit te, maledictus: et qui benedixerit te, benedictus. Vers. Lugd.: Et qui te maledixerit, maledictus erit: et qui te benedixerit, benedictus erit.	Qui maledixerit tibi, sit ille maledictus; et qui benedixerit tibi, benedictionibus repleatur.
LXXVIII.	GEN. XXVII. 30. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.:	GEN. XXVII. 30.
Quid est: (Factum est) cum exisset Iacob a facie patris, venit Esau frater eius?	Et factum est, postquam exivit Iacob a faciae Isac patris sui, et Esau frater eius uenit a uenatione.	Et egresso Iacob foras, venit Esau.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
LXXIX.	GEN. XXVII. 31. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Et fecit et ipse aepulas escae et obtulit patri suo.	GEN. XXVII. 31.
Quid est: *et* (B. omits *et*) ipse fecit escas, et obtulit patri?		Coctosque de venatione cibos intulit patri.
LXXX.	GEN. XXVII. 31.	GEN. XXVII. 31.
Quare sic dicit: Exurgat pater meus et manducet *de* (ex) uenatione filii sui?	Exsurgat pater meus, et manducet de venatione filii sui. Vers. Lugd.: Et dixit: Surgat pater meus, et manducet de uenatione fili sui.	Dicens: Surge, pater mi, et comede de venatione filii tui.
LXXXI.	GEN. XXVII. 32.	GEN. XXVII. 32.
Quare interrogando eum: iste quis est? non adiecit, fili, quod dixerat priori? (For *iste*, B. in marg. gives variant *Isaac*.)	Dixit Isaac, . . . quis es tu? Vers. Lugd.: Et dixit ei Isac pater ipsius: Quis es tu?	Dixitque illi Isaac Quis enim es tu?
LXXXII.	GEN. XXVII. 32, 33.	GEN. XXVII. 32, 33.
Quare dicente Esau, Ego sum filius tuus primogenitus, escas sume: detentus est pater valde vehementer? (Q. d. E: Ego sum primogenitus filius tuus, esces sumentis detentus est p. v. v.?)	Et ille: Ego sum Esau filius tuus maior. Expavit autem Isaac pavore magno valde. Vers. Lugd.: Respondit ei: Ego sum Esau filius tuus primogenitus. Et expauit Isac pauore magno uehementer.	Qui respondit: Ego sum filius tuus primogenitus Esau. Expauit Isaac stupore vehementi: et ultra quam credi potest admirans.
LXXXIII.	GEN. XXVII. 13.	GEN. XXVII. 13.
Quare dixit: manducaui ex omnibus, antequam tu uenires?	Manducavi ab omnibus, antequam tu venires. Vers. Lugd.: Et manducaui et ab omnibus aepulis priusquam tu uenires.	Et comedi ex omnibus priusquam tu venires.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
LXXXIV.	GEN. XXVII. 13.	GEN. XXVII. 13.
Quid est: *benedixi* (benedixit) eum, et erit benedictus?	Benedixi eum et sit benedictus. Vers. Lugd.: Et benedixi eum, ut sit benedictus. Sabatier notes that August., *Serm.* 4, to. 5, col. 20 f, has "benedixi eum et benedictus erit."	Benedixique ei, et erit benedictus.
LXXXV.	GEN. XXVII. 34.	GEN. XXVII. 34.
Quare cum audisset Esau, exclamauit uoce magna et amara ualde, et dixit: benedic *utique et* (etiam) me, pater?	Factum est autem, ut audivit Esau verba Isaac patris sui, exclamavit voce magna, et dixit: benedic et me, pater. Vers. Lugd.: Factum est autem, postquam audivit Esau uerba Isac patris sui, et exclamauit uoce magna et amara ualde, et dixit: benedic er[go] et me, pater.	Auditis Esau sermonibus patris, irrugiit clamore magno; et consternatus ait: benedic etiam et mihi, pater mi.
LXXXVI.	GEN. XXVII. 35.	GEN. XXVII. 35.
Quare dixit: (respondet sic) Veniens frater tuus cum dolo accepit benedictionem tuam?	Et dixit illi: Venit frater tuus cum dolo, et accepit benedictionem tuam. Vers. Lugd.: Et respondit ei, dic[ens]: Frater tuus u[eni]ens cum do[lo acce]pit bened[ictionem] tuam.	Qui ait: venit germanus tuus fraudulenter, et accepit benedictionem tuam.
LXXXVII.	GEN. XXVII. 36.	GEN. XXVII. 36.
Quid est quod dixit Esau: iuste uocatum	Et dixit Esau: iuste vocatum est nomen	At ille subiunxit: iuste vocatum est

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
est nomen eius Iacob: supplantauit enim me bis iam et primitias abstulit: et nunc accepit benedictionem? (B. for *bis iam* reads in text *iam altera vice* and in margin, *nunc bis*. It also adds *meam* after *benedictionem*.)	eius Iacob, supplantavit enim me iam bis et primogenita mea accepit. Vers. Lugd.: Et [dixit]: iuste uoc[atum est no]men eius Iacob: subplantauit enim iam bis: primatus enim meos accepit, et nunc accepit benedictionem meam.	nomen eius Iacob supplantavit enim me en altera vice primogenita mea ante tulit, et nunc secundo subripuit benedictionem meam.
LXXXVIII. Quare sic interroganti: Non dereliquisti mihi benedictionem? respondit sic, Dominum illum feci tibi et omnes fratres eius feci seruos: frumento et uino confirmaui eum: tibi quid faciam fili? (B. has *interrogante*; adds *pater* after *benedictionem*; reads *si dominum* for *sic, dominum*; omits words *et omnes fr. e. f. servos*; adds *et* before *frumento*.)	GEN. XXVII. 37. . . . respondit autem Isaac, et dixit ad illum: dominum tuum feci illum, et omnes fratres eius feci servos: tritico et vino confirmavi illum: tibi autem quid faciam, fili? Vers. Lugd.: Et dixit Esau patri suo: non reliquisti mihi benedictionem, pater? Respondens autem Isac, et dixit ad Esau: Si dominum tuum feci eum, et omnes fratres eius feci ipsius domesticos, tritico et vino firmaui eum; tibi autem quid faciam, fili?	GEN. XXVII. 36, 37. Rursumque ad patrem: numquid non reservasti, ait, et mihi benedictionem? Respondit Isaac Dominum tuum illum constitui, et omnes fratres eius servituti illius subiugavi: frumento et vino stabilivi eum, et tibi post hæc, fili mi, ultra quid faciam.
LXXXIX. Quare dixit (dicendo): num benedictio una est tibi,	GEN. XXVII. 38. Et dixit Esau ad patrem suum: nunquid una benedictio	GEN. XXVII. 38. Cui Esau: Num unam, inquit, tantum benedictionem habes,

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
pater? benedic etiam me.	tibi est, pater? benedic tamen et me, pater. Vers. Lugd.: [D]ixit autem Esau ad patrem suum: [Nu]mquid benedic-[tio u]na est tibi, pa[ter? Erg]o benedic[me, pat]er.	pater? Mihi quoque obsecro ut benedicas
XC. Quid est compuncto Isaac exclamauit voce magna Esau et plorauit? (Basle ed.: Quid est compunctio Isaac, exclamauit voce Esau, et plorauit?)	GEN. XXVII. 38, 39. Cum strangulatus esset Isaac (*id est cum coactus esset* is added in Hieron.). Vers. Lugd.: Cunctan[te aut]em Isac exclamauit uoce magna Esau et plorauit.	GEN. XXVII. 38, 39. Cumque eiulatu magno fleret, motus Isaac.
XCI. Quare exclamante (et) post fletum Esau, pater incipit benedicere?		
XCII. Quare ita incipit benedicere: *In* (e) pinguedine terræ erit inhabitatio tua, et de rore cæli desursum? Paris edition prints in margin the variant *benedictio* for *inhabitatio*; with which cp. August., *Serm.* 5, col. 31 d.: *accepit benedictionem . . . a rore cæli.* (Quoted by Sabatier.)	GEN. XXVII. 39, 40. Respondit autem Isaac, et ait illi: ecce a fertilitate terræ erit habitatio tua, et a rore cæli desuper. Vers. Lugd.: Respondens autem pater eius, dixit ei: Ecce a potu terrae erit commoratio tua, et a rore caeli desusum.	GEN. XXVII. 39, 40. Dixit ad eum: In pinguedine terræ et in rore cæli desuper, erit benedictio tua.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XCIII.	GEN. XXVII. 40.	GEN. XXVII. 40.
Quid est, gladio vives? (Basle ed.: Quid est super gladium uiues?)	Et super gladium tuum vives. Vers. Lugd.: Et super gladium tuum uiues.	Vives in gladio.
XCIV.	GEN. XXVII. 40.	GEN. XXVII. 40.
Quid est: fratri tuo servies?	Servies fratri tuo. Vers. Lugd.: Fratri tuo servies.	Fratri tuo servies.
XCV.	GEN. XXVII. 40.	GEN. XXVII. 40.
Quid est: Erit ergo tempus cum deposueris et exsolues iugum eius de collo tuo? (B. omits *tempus* and has *exsoluas*, and reads *tuum* for *eius*.)	Erit autem cum deposueris et solveris iugum illius a collo tuo. Vers. Lugd.: Erit autem cum deposueris et resolueris iugum ipsius de collo tuo.	Tempusque veniet, cum excutias et solvas iugum eius de cervicibus tuis.
XCVI.	GEN. XXVII. 41.	GEN. XXVII. 41.
Quid est: Dixit Esau in corde suo, appropinquent dies luctus patris mei ut occidam Iacob fratrem meum? (B. omits *Esau* and *suo*.)	. . . Appropinquent dies passionis patris mei, ut interficiam Iacob fratrem meum. Vers. Lugd.: Dixit autem Esau in sensu suo: adpropinquent dies mortis patris mei, et occidam fratrem meum Iacob.	Dixitque in corde suo: Venient dies luctus patris mei, et occidam Iacob fratrem meum.
XCVII.	GEN. XXVII. 43.	GEN. XXVII. 43.
Quare mater cum audisset minas Esau, ait ad Iacob: Surgens fuge ad Laban fratrem meum in Haran? (B. has order *cum aud. mat.*, omits *Esau* and *ad Iacob*, and reads *Charran*.)	. . . Exsurgens fuge in Mesopotamiam. . . . Vers. Lugd.: Surgens profiscere in Mesopotamiam ad Laban fratrem meum in Charra.	Consurgens fuge ad Laban fratrem meum in Haran.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
XCVII. Qui ait destinando: accipiam te inde nequando orbabor. (Basle ed.: Quid estimando accipiam te inde, ne quando orbitabor?)	GEN. XXVII. 45. . . . Mittam ad te et accessiam te inde. . . . Vers. Lugd.: Et mittam et arcessiam te inde, ne forte sine filios fiam ex duobus uobis in una die.	GEN. XXVII. 45. Postea mittam et adducam te inde huc cur utroque orbabor filio in uno die?
XCVIII. Quare dixit Rebecca ad Isaac, Fastidita sum vitæ meæ propter filias Heth? (B. omits *ad*, reads *fastidiata* and *filias filiorum*.)	GEN. XXVII. 46. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Dixit autem Rebecca ad Isac: Destinaui animo meo propter filias filiorum Chet.	GEN. XXVII. 46. Dixitque Rebecca ad Isaac: Tædet me vitæ meæ propter filias Heth.
XCIX. Quid est, Si acceperit sibi Iacob uxorem ex hac terra: ut quid mihi vivere. (B. quid est, Isaac cepit sibi Iacob uxorem ex hac terra? *Sol.* Ut quid mihi uiueretur.)	GEN. XXVII. 46. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.: Si acceperit Iacob uxorem a filiabus terræ huius, ut quid mihi uiuere.	GEN. XXVII. 46. Si acceperit Iacob uxorem de stirpe huius terræ, nolo vivere.
C. Quare inquit pater illius, Surgens fuge in Mesopotamiam in domum Bathuel patris matris tuæ, et accipe tibi uxorem a filiabus Laban fratris matris tuæ? (B. reads *meæ* for the first *tuæ*.)	GEN. XXVIII. 2. Surgens fuge in Mesopotamiam, in domum Bathuel patris matris tuæ, et sume tibi inde uxorem de filiabus Laban fratris matris tuæ. Vers. Lugd.: Sed surge, et vade in Mesopotamiam, in	GEN. XXVIII. 2. Sed vade et profisciscere in Mesopotamiam Syriæ, ad domum Bathuel patris matris tuæ, et accipe tibi inde uxorem de filiabus Laban avunculi tui.

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QUÆSTIONES.	ITALA.	VULGATA.
	domum Bathuelis patris matris tuæ, et accipe inde tibi uxorem ex filiabus Labe fratris matris tuæ, et accipe tibi inde uxorem.	
CI.	GEN. XXVIII. 5.	GEN. XXVIII. 5–7.
Quid est, Audiuit Iacob patrem et matrem et perrexit in Mesopotamiam?	. . . Et exiit in Mesopotamiam Syriæ. Sabatier quotes Hieron. *I. contr. Helvid.*, to. 4, part. 2, col. 139 c.: "Iacob . . . Mesopotamiam perrexit." Vers. Lugd.: 5 Abiit in Mesopotamiam . . . 7 eo quod audierit Iacob patrem suum et matrem suam, et abierit in Mesopotamiam.	Profectus venit in Mesopotamiam. . . . quodque obediens Iacob parentibus suis, isset in Syriam.
CII.	GEN. XXVIII. 8, 9. (*Itala deest.*) Vers. Lugd.:	GEN. XXVIII. 8, 9.
Quid est: Videns Esau filias Chanaan quod malignæ essent in conspectu Isaac patris sui, perrexit et accepit Melchol sororem Naboioth super uxores suas? (B. omits *essent* and reads *perrexit ad Ismahelech, accepit*; reads *Nabeoth*, and adds *uxorem* after *suas*.)	8 Et tunc postquam uidit Esau quia malignae sunt filiae Channaneorum ante Isac patrem suum, 9 Abiit ad Ismahel, et accepit Malaleel filiam Ismael fili Abrahae, sororem Nabeoth, ad mulieres suas sibi uxorem.	Probans quoque quod non libenter aspiceret filias Chanaan pater suus, ivit ad Ismaelem, et duxit uxorem, absque iis quas prius habebat, Maheleth filiam Ismael filii Abraham, sororem Nabaioth.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

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DILLMANN ON THE TEXT OF JOB.[1]

In a back volume of The Expositor (1886, first part) Professor H. L. Strack informed many English students for the first time of the intended publication of the remains of the Sahidic version of the Septuagint which repose in the library of the Propaganda College at Rome. Sahidic, it may be well to add, is the Coptic of Upper Egypt; and the importance of the publication consists in this, that the version in this dialect represents the Septuagint as it was in that comparatively early time when Origen had not yet produced the Hexapla, or when at any rate his corrections of the text had not yet begun to affect the manuscripts of the common text. In 1885 the first volume of a magnificent edition of the Sahidic fragments appeared under the editorial care of Padre Agostino Ciasca; it contained, besides a description of the fragments and eighteen photographs, the remains of the historical books of the Old Testament. Vol. ii., published in 1889, gave to the world the precious fragments of the prophetic and poetical books in Sahidic, which at once arrested the attention of Bible-critics. The most important of them were those of Job, which cover almost the entire extent of this difficult book. I ventured, in 1887, to express the hope that the early Septuagint text of Job might now be reconstructed through the help of this manuscript, but did not conceive the bolder hope that large spaces of the Hebrew text itself might be corrected by the same means.[2] How greatly the Hebrew text of Job had suffered by corruption and interpolation I well knew; but it seemed to me that there were special reasons for distrusting the accuracy of the Sep-

[1] *Textkritisches zum Buche Jjob.* Von A. Dillmann (Sitzungsberichte der königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1890).

[2] *Job and Solomon*, p. 114.

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tuagint version, on which even such a critic as Merx had sometimes leaned too confidently, nor did it seem that the omissions of such an unfaithful version could claim much text-critical authority. To all appearance the author of the Septuagint version had before him a very badly written Hebrew MS., and how could we tell that he omitted for any other reason than that he either could not read or could not understand his manuscript? The presumption at any rate would be against the justice of his omissions. I ought, of course, to have made a special examination of the subject in the light of Padre Ciasca's letter to the *Moniteur de Rome*, October, 1883; but unfortunately Lagarde's *Mittheilungen* (1884), in which this letter was quoted, had not reached me in the country. It was reserved first for Dr. Bickell,[1] and then for the lamented Dr. Hatch,[2] to consider the omissions of the Sahidic version of the Septuagint in connexion with the history both of the Septuagint and of the Hebrew text. The former produced a very solid and suggestive work; the latter diminished the value of an acute and vigorous essay by not basing it on a careful study, either of the Massoretic Hebrew text of Job or of the best translations and commentaries. The demand which Dr. Hatch makes at the end of his essay is both unpractical in the extreme and marked by an undue bias in favour of the Septuagint version of Job, and the conclusion that "in the interval between the time of the original translation and that of Theodotion large additions were made to the text by a poet whose imaginative power was at least not inferior to that of the original writer," errs almost equally by excess and defect. One is surprised therefore that so consummate an Old Testament scholar

[1] *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1886, p. 557, etc.

[2] *Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 215–245. Need I add that, however one may differ from the author in points of detail, his grasp of critical method deserves in general the praise bestowed upon it in a kindly notice in the *Revue Critique*?

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as Dillmann should have thought it necessary to subject Dr. Hatch's arguments to a detailed examination. It is, at any rate, a proof of the high value which the greatest critical authority in Germany sets upon our never to be forgotten friend, and we are only too thankful for so rich a collection of facts and criticisms as he has here given us. The student of Job will get from this dissertation a lively idea what the criticism of the versions means. Both principles and conclusions are thoroughly sound, and scarcely admit of serious dispute. Nor has Dillmann confined himself to the omissions of the Septuagint treated of by Hatch, but all the other portions omitted, however small, are carefully tested, with a perfect knowledge of the facts, and a sober but not timid criticism.

A few sentences from the closing pages may here be added.

"Certainly there are some of the omissions of the Septuagint which may be of critical importance, and the originality of which may be discussed; but as a rule these consist only of single στίχοι or verses: *e.g.* ii. 1*c*; vii. 8; xii. 8*b*, 9, 23; xviii. 9*b*, 10; xx. 23*a*; xxvii. 22, 23; xxix. 16; xli. 9 (8); and especially xl. 24 (19), xli. 4 (3). Of longer sentences, only xxviii. 14–19, xxxi. 1–4, xxxix. 13–18 can be reckoned in; but even in the case of these it is very doubtful whether they were wanting in the Hebrew text at the time of the Greek translator, and whether their omission in the Septuagint does not arise from other causes."

"In the Elihu-passages, for which Hatch's hypothesis is thought by its author to offer an eminently plausible explanation, this view has shown itself to be altogether inapplicable, especially in the more detailed development which he has given to it."

"It is precisely in the Elihu-speeches, with their lengthy and yet so unclear diction, and their not very correct text, that the free manner of translation adopted throughout the book by the Greek appears in the most pronounced manner. We see that it is not so much a translation as a recast of the text, the object of which is to defend the hero of the book against the evil sayings ascribed to him, to clear away stumbling-blocks of all kinds, to give the whole a shorter form, and to reproduce the general sense approximately as the translator thought that he understood it, or would have his readers understand it."

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But Dillmann does not deny

"that, in the Elihu-passages as elsewhere, single passages of the book may have been tampered with by the Jewish scribes even after the time of the Greek translator (especially where the traditional text was corrupt, or where the point of too sharp a statement needed to be blunted), and that this or that reading of the Hebrew text can be corrected from the Septuagint, though this is much more seldom the case than in other books. But that after the time of the Septuagint-translation so many and such extensive additions were made to the book must be denied, not on merely Hebraistic grounds, but from an examination of the pre-Hexaplar text of the Septuagint."

T. K. CHEYNE.

SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE past six months have witnessed the publication of several books which either advance or facilitate the study of the New Testament. Perhaps the first place among these is due to Prof. Swete's second volume of *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge University Press). This volume includes the *Psalms*, which had previously been published in a separate form. For the rest it embraces the books from 1 *Chronicles* to *Tobit*, that is 1 and 2 Chronicles, 1 and 2 Esdras, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song, Job, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. For the third volume there remain the Prophets and some of the apocryphal books. Both for accuracy and convenience this edition now holds the field.

Following rapidly upon the second, there appears a third volume of *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* by members of the University of Oxford (Clarendon Press). The contributors are mainly those whose names are associated with the previous volumes: Messrs. Neubauer, Gwilliam, Woods, Turner, and Prof. Sanday. Mr. Rackham also contributes an essay upon the Text of the Canons of Ancyra. Mr. Neubauer, in his paper on the Introduction of the Square Characters in Biblical MSS., takes occasion to show that as the Assyrians were acquainted with the art of writing

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in the fifteenth century B.C., and the Moabites in the ninth century B.C., so the Israelites possessed books in the time of Samuel, and probably used writing with some freedom at a somewhat earlier date. Mr. Gwilliam's examination of "the materials for the criticism of the Peshitto New Testament" is a valuable addition to our means of ascertaining the relative importance of the Syriac versions. Light is thrown on the nature of the Karkaphensian version, and Mr. Gwilliam sees further reason to hold by his opinion that the Peshitto and not the Curetonian represents the "Old Syriac." Another Syriac study is ably conducted by Mr. Woods. In "an examination of the New Testament quotations of Ephrem Syrus" he shows that, while some of these quotations are in exact or practical agreement with the Peshitto, others indicate the existence and use of an extra-Peshitto Syriac text, while a third class point to a direct or indirect use of a Greek text. Ephrem may himself have known Greek, and used a Greek text or a Syriac MS. with variant Greek readings, or he may have availed himself of the assistance of a Græco-Syriac scholar. The Cheltenham MS., on which Prof. Sanday's article is based, is itself of the tenth century; but it contains a list of the canonical books which belongs to the year 359 A.D. Hence its importance. It is needless to say that this paper illustrates on every page the author's characteristic learning and caution. Fresh light is thrown on the history of the canon, and the tabular views which Prof. Sanday has drawn up will be found serviceable by all students. The volume is enriched by some beautifully executed photographic reproductions of MSS. It is greatly to be desired that this most valuable series of studies may be continued.

It is remarkable that a department of biblical literature which has hitherto been somewhat slighted among us should have been suddenly reinforced by three works of merit. Mr. Deane's *Pseudepigrapha: an Account of certain Apocryphal Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark), puts in the hands of the student a very much needed introduction to a literature which is too little read. The New Testament cannot be thoroughly understood unless the literature and opinions of the period which produced it be studied. Josephus and Philo have been largely drawn upon for the illustration of the New Testament writings; but the pseudepigraphal writings of the centuries immediately

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preceding and immediately following the Christian era contain material which as yet has been but imperfectly used for this purpose. Mr. Deane's book will, it is to be hoped, bring these curious and significant documents more clearly before the public eye. It is the work of a specialist, whose familiarity with this field of literature has long been proved; and it gives a lucid and accurate account of the origin and contents of the Psalter of Solomon, the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Sibylline Oracles. Mr. Deane has not only spent much time and scholarship in securing accuracy, but he presents his material in an attractive form. He has entered into the spirit of those old writings, and brings out their characteristic features and salient points with the skill of an expert. He gives us neither too much nor too little of their contents; and where he summarizes what would be tedious to read in detail, he does so in an admirable English style. Full knowledge of the literature of his subject, a sound and fair judgment in determining the many disputed points of date and authorship, a clear perception of the significance of what is implied as well as of explicit statements, a style full of life, and, above all, long familiarity with his subject, constitute Mr. Deane our best guide to the Pseudepigrapha.

Another work issued by the same publishers deals with the same class of books, and if not so unassailably accurate, is perhaps even more likely to catch the public ear than Mr. Deane's treatise. This is *Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles: being a Critical Review of Apocalyptic Jewish Literature.* By John E H. Thomson, B.D., Stirling. This is a clever, imaginative, scholarly, interesting volume. Mr. Thomson has the gift of making those old world times and personages live again; and his book, being written with unflagging spirit, is likely to prove of value by investing the apocalyptic writings with an attractiveness they have not always seemed to possess. His main thesis is that they are of Essene authorship, not a wholly novel idea, nor, it is to be feared, a wholly defensible one. Schürer and other writers have been at pains to show that it cannot be maintained. One must expect therefore to find in Mr. Thomson's volume some rather extravagant conjectures, together with a great deal of close reasoning and scholarly criticism. In small points he is not always exact;

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as on p. 424 the names of Graetz and Hilgenfeld should have been added to that of Huet; and Pick's was not, as stated on the same page, "the first English translation" of the Psalter of Solomon. These however are small blemishes in a book which is a credit to Scottish scholarship, which shows great aptitude for original work, and in which, even although the main thesis cannot be substantiated, there are abundant evidences of critical insight and many important suggestions. It is a volume worthy of the attention both of scholars and of the public. Readers who may shrink from studying the apocalyptic writings will yet find in the first two hundred pages on the "Background of Apocalyptic," and in the description of the Essene household of Nazareth, much to interest and stimulate thought.

Besides these works, which will admirably serve as introductions to the whole pseudepigraphal literature, we have an admirable edition of one of those books. Prof. Ryle and Mr. James, Dean of King's College, Cambridge, have issued with introduction, translation, and notes, the *Psalms of the Pharisees, commonly Called the Psalms of Solomon* (University Press, Cambridge). This is a thoroughly well-equipped and satisfactory edition of a remarkably eloquent and interesting book. The editors, in a modest preface, indicate that they will be satisfied if their work is found helpful in connexion with the Theological Tripos at Cambridge. It is to be hoped it will suggest to other examining boards to direct the studies of theological candidates in this direction. But the notes which make it a perfect student's edition will be found useful by all readers. The introduction gives an account of the MSS. on which the text is based, of previous editions and commentaries, of the relation the Psalms hold to other Jewish writings, and the light they throw on Jewish opinion, and especially on the Messianic hope. These chapters are full of information, and give a more complete view of the contents and connexions of the book than is elsewhere to be found. It is much to be desired that all the apocalyptic writings were accessible in editions as convenient and as final as this.

That the faith of the Christian should be healthy enough to find nutriment in every discovery of criticism goes without saying. That all truth must help and not hinder the cause of Christ is an axiom. But recent averments of criticism regarding Scripture have certainly disquieted many minds, and some re-assuring voice

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is greatly needed. No man seems better fitted than Prof. Sanday to utter such a voice. He is thoroughly informed, he is singularly fair-minded, he is sober, reverent, devout. Probably no man would be so naturally chosen to arbitrate between the traditionalists and the critics. Instinctively drawn to mediate in the present disquietude, Prof. Sanday has delivered nine lectures on the nature and extent of biblical inspiration, and has published them through Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., under the title, *The Oracles of God*. In this small volume the author has frankly stated the results of criticism, and at the same time has shown how little cause for anxiety exists. He repeats the often urged, but little heeded, warning, "It is far better not to ask at all what an inspired book ought to be, but to content ourselves with the inquiry what this book, which comes to us as inspired, in fact and reality is." He unfolds with force and eloquence what it is which actually makes the Bible precious to men and convinces them of its inspiration, and he shows how little that conviction depends on questions of archæology or chronology. In dealing with the delicate question of the relation of Christ to Scripture, Prof. Sanday's tact and wisdom are conspicuous. He justly affirms that, instead of asking whether our Lord's allusions to the currently received authors of books of the Old Testament do not stamp those names infallibly upon them, "it is far sounder method not to ask this question until we know first what is the truth about the books in question, whether they were really the works of their reputed authors or not. It is not beyond the power of scholarly inquiry to determine this." Nothing could be better adapted than these lectures to remove disquietude, and introduce true and healthy views of Scripture.

It is now a quarter of a century since the Hulsean Lecturer chose for his theme "Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Subject of Growth in Wisdom," and laid down the orthodox doctrine regarding the limitations of knowledge necessitated by our Lord's true human nature. The lecturer was the Rev. J. Moorhouse, of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is most satisfactory to find that, although now raised to the see of Manchester, Bishop Moorhouse retains as firm a hold of the orthodox doctrine of our Lord's humanity, and as unhesitatingly declares it: "When we affirm our Lord's human ignorance of natural science, historical criticism, and the like, we are not to be understood as denying the possi-

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bility of the miraculous communication of such knowledge; but only the affirmation, so often confidently made, that the union of our Lord's humanity with His divinity necessarily implies the possession of such knowledge. He might be without it. We know that in one case He was without it. He never claimed to possess it, nor did His mission require that He should possess it." These timely and sound words occur in a small volume of lectures on *The Teaching of Christ: its Conditions, Secret, and Results*, recently issued by the Bishop of Manchester (Macmillan & Co.). We wish the volume were three times the size. For after discussing "Inspiration" and "The Limitations of our Lord's Knowledge," little more than one hundred pages are left for the exhibition of the actual teaching of Christ. These pages however are full of matter. In an entirely fresh and effective setting he presents the "master-thought" of Christ's teaching, the fatherhood of God. He then exhibits our Lord's teaching on the law and the kingdom, concluding with a chapter on His teaching regarding the unseen world, in which he avows his belief in demoniacal possession and his disbelief in the eternity of punishment. The volume is throughout interesting, and in parts original and powerful.

Another volume from the same pen, and entitled *Dangers of the Apostolic Age*, is published by Mr. Thomas Fargie, Manchester. It forms an introduction to the Epistles to the Galatians, Colossians, and Hebrews, and depicts with admirable vividness the character and conditions of the Churches addressed. Besides the exploitation of the Hittites in the service of New Testament Introduction, there are several new points of interest brought forward. And although a paper on "The Galatian Lapse" is not the place where one would naturally look for a criticism of the philosophies of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann, Bishop Moorhouse has something to say regarding these philosophies which is quite worth hearing. He has also popularized Prof. Robertson Smith's theory of the evolution of sacrifice, and has made good use of it in elucidating one main element in the sacrifice of Christ; but he has taken too little account of sin and of the sense of guilt in explaining that sacrifice. His explanation thoroughly satisfies many of the passages of Scripture which deal with the subject; but there are passages, especially in St. Paul's *Epistles*, which to all appearance nothing satisfies but that conception of vicarious

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punishment which Bishop Moorhouse believes to have been introduced "by mere theorists." Still the volume cannot fail to prove most stimulating. It not only abounds in information, most attractively presented, but there are profusely made over to us the results of prolonged study and severe thought upon the most important of subjects.

In his *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*, published by Messrs. James Nisbet & Co., Dr. Gloag, of Galashiels, adds another volume to the useful series of works on biblical subjects which he has produced. All the characteristics with which his former writings have familiarized us are found in the present volume. We have here the same patient industry, the same knowledge of the literature bearing on his subject, the same tolerant spirit, and the same fair and sound judgment. As a repertory of facts and opinions concerning the Johannine writings, the student will find this volume eminently serviceable. Here and there the reader desiderates a little more firmness; as, in the account given of the relation of the discourses in the fourth gospel to the words actually spoken by Jesus, in the ascertainment of the date of the Apocalypse, and in the treatment of the discrepancy between the synoptists and John regarding the day of the Lord's death. But even where the author's own decision is not very firmly given, other opinions are fully reported and discussed with intelligence, knowledge, and fairness. Sometimes however even fuller information might be desired, as in the account of recent theories of the Apocalypse, which are neither reported nor discussed with sufficient fulness. The bibliography is good; but even here there are some curious blanks, and an extraordinary number of misprints, one of which credits a Dublin professor with an article actually produced by an Aberdeen theologian. But with these slight drawbacks, Dr. Gloag has given us a convenient and useful *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*.

To the interpretation of the Johannine writings a most valuable contribution is made by Dr. Charles Watson, of Largs, in his *First Epistle General of St. John* (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons). We have few expositions of any book of Scripture so thoroughly adequate as this. The spirit and meaning of the epistle are grasped with the unerring insight of deep sympathy, and they are imparted to the reader with unstrained ease and in absolutely lucid English. Passages which penetrate to the heart

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of the Christian life are of frequent occurrence, and sudden light is flashed out of the epistle on many of the hardest problems of theology. Few books embody so much wisdom, and few present a theology so human and yet so sound.

We cannot too highly recommend a *People's Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John* by Edwin W. Rice, D.D. (Philadelphia: The American Sunday-school Union). A Sunday-school teacher can require nothing more than this brief commentary gives him. Dr. Rice has mastered the best literature on the fourth gospel, has appreciated the difficulty of his task, has used excellent judgment in determining what to introduce and what to omit, and has produced a commentary which perfectly satisfies all ordinary requirements. It is to be hoped it will be largely used in this country.

To the "Expositor's Bible," the first volume of an exposition of the *Gospel of St. John* has been added by the present writer, while Dr. Plummer contributes what will possibly be accepted as the very best of all his able and welcome volumes. It is occupied with *The General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude.* These epistles are expounded with an exact and careful consideration of the language, and at the same time with spirit and attention to the general scope and permanent applications of their substance. Dr. Plummer is never tedious, but carries his reader with him, and engages his interest remarkably. The introductions are written out of full knowledge, and the manner in which difficulties are discussed proves that time and thought have been spent upon them. The author indulges less in sermonizing than some of the contributors to the same series have done, and his volume will probably be at once accepted as the best popular commentary on these two epistles. It ought to be so esteemed.

Prebendary Sadler goes steadily forward with his commentary on the New Testament, and now issues the volume on *The General Epistles of SS. James, Peter, John, and Jude* (George Bell & Sons). For readers who have not access to the larger commentaries, these brief expositions of Mr. Sadler's are a boon. It must however be said that there is much in this, as well as in previous volumes from the same hand, with which few modern critics would agree.

The Practical Teaching of the Apocalypse, by the Rev. G. V. Garland, Rector of Binstead (Longmans, Green & Co.), is a large volume full of thought and the results of reading. Yet it will

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not advance the exposition of this most difficult book. Mr. Garland has not stated nor applied with sufficient firmness his principles of interpretation. He has printed a mass of observations, some of which are suggestive, and all original; but they are interspersed and overlaid with remarks which cause one to distrust his guidance. A patient student of prophecy, who will be at pains to sift what Mr. Garland says, will find some grains of good corn to reward him.

Among the miscellaneous volumes that have reached us may be mentioned the Ven. Arthur E. Moule's *Reasons for the Hope that is in Us* (Hodder and Stoughton). Archdeacon Moule is a vigorous apologist, and these brief essays on the resurrection of Christ, the Bible, and the future life are uncompromising and confident. They are well-written, and may be read with pleasure, as well as with some conviction. Mr. Moule stands in the old paths, and does not see that any reason has been shown for doubting the scientific accuracy of the Bible. But an apologist who takes this ground should be more careful of his facts than Mr. Moule always is. To take a small example, there occurs on p. 92 this somewhat surprising statement: "Similar cases of historical accuracy occur in the New Testament; *e.g.* Cyrenius *was* governor of Syria A.D. 1." Is this defender of the faith unaware of the fact that our Lord was not born A.D. 1? Is it an echo of Zumpt's generally misunderstood and over-ridden argument that we have here? But there is a kind of apologetic literature which, if it does not convince the gainsayer, yet imparts confidence to those who already believe; and this also is a service worth performing.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have issued, in a very handsome volume, six lectures on *The Literature of the Second Century*. They were originally read to a popular audience at the Alexandra College, Dublin, and disclaim all pretension to originality. But as the lecturers are Dr. Wynne, Mr. Bernard, and Prof. Hemphill, this disclaimer is over-modest. Dr. Wynne gives an interesting sketch of the testimony borne to Christianity by Tacitus, Pliny, the Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius, and the *Pastor* of Hermas; and sketches the growth of the New Testament canon. Mr. Bernard gives some account of the apocryphal gospels, and discusses the miraculous in early Christian literature, bringing out the insufficiency of the evidence for the miracles of the second and later centuries. Prof. Hemphill takes up the

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subject, with which he has already given good proof of his familiarity, and pleasantly tells again the significant story of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, showing from it and from Justin and Papias the absurdity of the assertion that we have no proof of the existence of the gospels before the year 170 A.D. The volume is well fitted to serve the useful purpose of diffusing accurate information regarding the origin of Christianity, and of counteracting the false and discreditable accounts too often given of it. It is lucidly and pleasantly written, and should be widely read.

The Rev. J. P. Lilley, of Arbroath, supplies us with an excellent and much-needed book on *The Lord's Supper* (T. & T. Clark). The author aims at giving a biblical exposition of the origin, nature, and use of this ordinance; and he has succeeded in presenting us with a lucid and instructive account of the Passover, of its absorption in the Lord's Supper, and of its celebration in the apostolic Church. This part of the work is skilfully executed, nothing being laboured with too heavy a hand. Indeed Mr. Lilley will be judged by some to have tripped rather too lightly over some difficulties, such as the discrepancy between St. John and the synoptists as to the date and nature of the Last Supper. But he redeems himself by the wise remark that "the connexion of the Supper with the Passover depends on continuity of spiritual purpose, and not on mere coincidence in the time of celebration." The practical part of the book is also well-judged and rich in suggestion, and altogether the volume can be cordially recommended to all who have to prepare young people for communion, or who seek clear and reasonable views on this sacrament.

Dr. Edwin Abbott's discussion of Cardinal Newman's Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles, entitled, *Philomythus, an Antidote against Credulity* (Macmillan & Co.), has been so abundantly criticised in other quarters, that here it may suffice merely to chronicle its appearance, and to remark that the critical part of the essay is much more satisfactory than the constructive.

Chrysostom, a Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation, by Frederic Henry Chase, M.A., Theological Lecturer, Cambridge (Deighton, Bell & Co., 1887), "gained the Kaye prize three years ago," and since then the essay has been recast and rewritten. One almost grudges to see so much research, scholarship, and faculty of interpretation expended on a subject which appeals to a very limited public. But in this volume Mr. Chase shows

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capabilities for doing work on the New Testament of an exceptionally valuable kind; and while thankfully accepting his present publication, as an adequate treatment of his subject, the Church will await with expectation further results of his studies.

SERMONS.—Dr. Liddon's literary executors have done well in publishing (Longmans, Green & Co.) his *Passiontide Sermons*. There are twenty-one of them in the volume; and they form a most appropriate memorial of a preacher whose great natural eloquence was informed by sound learning and genuine devotion, who, more than any other preacher of our time, has made orthodoxy respectable in the eyes of thoughtful men, and who won the ear of all classes alike to a well-considered advocacy of Christian principles and to the most impassioned appeals in Christ's behalf. The specimens of his work which are gathered in this volume are characteristic, and they form a whole; and in every respect the volume is to be recommended both to those who already acknowledge and those who have yet to learn the greatness of England's loss in the death of Canon Liddon.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have now completed their issue of Charles Kingsley's sermons. The volumes which have last come to hand are his *Westminster Sermons*, and a volume of miscellaneous sermons entitled *All Saints' Day, and other Sermons*. The former volume, which has been very frequently reprinted, is enriched with a characteristic Essay on Natural Theology. No preacher was ever more English than Charles Kingsley. The secret of his popularity lies not entirely nor chiefly in his perfect style, but in the fact that he preached a religion which approved itself to the sense and to the natural leanings of the average Englishman. He commended Christianity as the one means of developing all that is purest, strongest, and healthiest in human nature.

Another volume of sermons which should attract many readers is *Twelve Sermons*, by the late Eugène Bersier, D.D., translated by Mrs. Alexander Waugh (James Nisbet & Co.). They are excellent specimens of the manly eloquence of their lamented author. The subjects are interesting, and give scope to argumentative and oratorical treatment.—*Gethsemane; or, Leaves of Healing from the Garden of Grief*, by Newman Hall, LL.B. (T. & T. Clark), is a very good book of its kind. It is intended to bring comfort to grieved and troubled persons, and it is admirably fitted to accom-

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plish its purpose. It is strong and bright, and here and there occur expository hints of some value. Persons who wish to say a word of comfort to friends, and yet cannot do so, will find this book a good substitute for spoken sympathy.

Too late to receive more extended notice, the late Bishop Lightfoot's abridged edition of the *Apostolic Fathers* has been received from Messrs. Macmillan & Co. This is a most useful and convenient volume, although one cannot but regret the necessary absence of the notes which so greatly enrich the larger edition. Here we have the text, a translation, and introductions; and possibly the presence of a translation may carry the volume into quarters where otherwise it might not have found its way. The edition is to all intents and purposes Lightfoot's. The text and translations of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp are simply reprinted from the larger edition. The text of the "Teaching of the Apostles" was prepared by Lightfoot, and a rough translation of the other documents included in the volume was found among his papers. To Mr. Harmer, under whose care the whole is issued, we owe the text of Barnabas, Hermas, and the Epistle to Diognetus. The Fragments of Papias and the Reliques of the Elders are added, thus making the volume a very full repertory of the Christian literature of the period. The Greek is printed in a very clear type; the edition will exactly meet the requirements of those who have Greek enough to enjoy the original, and yet like to have a translation at hand to keep them right. It is quite likely that it may supersede the editions hitherto used among us, excellent as some of them are.

MARCUS DODS.

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BREVIA.

Klostermann versus Kautzsch and Socin.—In the interests of fairness, and to save some readers from useless expenditure of trouble, it may be noted that Professor Klostermann, the Don Quixote of criticism, who has been hailed in America as the discoverer of a new and better theory of the formation of Genesis, has not been left unanswered in Germany. I refer, on the one hand, to the excellent Kiel professor's "Contributions to the History of the Origin of the Pentateuch," in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* for 1890 (parts 9 and 10); and, on the other, to the preface to the new edition of Kautzsch and Socin's documentary German edition of the Book of Genesis.[1] Mr. L. B. Paton, in his laudably brief article on Klostermann's ambitious theory in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for last April, omits all mention of what appears to Klostermann "the most manifest proof" of the justice of his condemnation of "the criticism of Genesis as hitherto [for the last 140 years] practised." That proof is—the edition of Genesis published in 1888 by Kautzsch (whom we may perhaps venture to call the German Driver) and his eminent non-theological colleague Socin. No wonder that Kautzsch and Socin were moved to reply; and their calm, conciliatory tone is a proof that they have no fear for their cause. Nor, in fact, need most of those who read THE EXPOSITOR trouble themselves about Klostermann. Klostermann is, upon the whole, disappointing even as a text-critic (see Driver, *Samuel*, preface, p. v), and it would be unwise in the extreme for non-experts to give much weight to his views on the higher criticism. Psychological probability can scarcely be conceded to a view which compels us to suppose that Genesis xxviii. 1–9 was written down as the continuation of chap. xxvii. And with regard to the so called "prejudice of the identity of the text transmitted by the synagogue with the original form of the Torah," most English students will agree that it would be most unwise (judging from the revision of the text of Samuel and Kings given by Klostermann in Strack and Zöckler's commentary on the Old Testament)

[1] *Die Genesis, mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellenschriften.* Übersetzt von E. Kautzsch (Halle) und A. Socin (Leipzig). Zweite vielfach verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 1891.

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to found the higher criticism of Genesis on a text revised by Klostermann. This thoroughly well-meaning but too self-centred worker is hurt because Kautzsch and Socin have appeared to him to claim that the analysis of the sources of Genesis is complete, and its results definitive. But as a fact, the two analysts have been "honest enough to confess pretty often their ignorance." What they do assert is, that "the element which still remains, and *perhaps always will remain*, doubtful stands in no relation to the large number of sections whose origin is certain, and which enable us to form a well-founded view of the character of the original documents, and the mode in which they were worked up together." It would be wiser far if Klostermann would recognise these results, and co-operate with those who would fain practise historical criticism of the sources of the Hexateuch upon sounder and more historical principles than those of some of our predecessors.

T. K. CHEYNE.

Isaiah lxv. 15: "And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen ones, . . . Jehovah therefore shall slay thee . . .; but his servants shall he call by another name."—The difficulties of this passage have been somewhat too slightly treated by the commentators. There is, first of all, the philological difficulty of the middle group of words. The extreme harshness of Gesenius's and Hitzig's view, that "thee" in "slay thee" is a collective, and the injury to the antithesis which this view produces (see Revised Version, where it is adopted), favours the opinion of Ewald that והמיתך אדני יהוה is a part of the curse-formula referred to at the beginning of the verse (comp. Num. v. 21, Jer. xxix. 22). But if so, we cannot suppose the clause to contain the opening words of the curse; some introductory clause must be presupposed, such as, "Since thou hast transgressed thus against Jehovah"; comp. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, p. 168. These words, as well as the closing ones, "as he slew this and that man" (the leaders of the apostate Jews), must be supposed to be omitted under strong excitement; the omission is best indicated by asterisks. There remains the exegetical difficulty of harmonizing the two halves of the verse. The pronoun "thee" in the curse-formula, illustrated by Numbers v. 21, Jeremiah xxix. 22, suggests that "your name"

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means "your names," *i.e.*, in this context, the name of each of you; comp. "their name"="their names," Deuteronomy xii. 3, Psalm ix. 5. In this case, consistency seems at first sight to require that "his servants" should mean "each of his servants"; and the net result is, that the name of each unbeliever, according to the prophet, will only survive in the speech of those who curse, but the name of each believer (*i.e.* his inner nature), will receive a higher and nobler expression in a new title of honour (as in Rev. ii. 17). On the other hand, we gain a more effective rebuke, if we suppose "another name" (*N.B.*, not "a new name") to have reference to the name which unbelievers as well as believers have hitherto borne, *viz.* Israel. This name, once so high and holy, has become debased by its application to a numerous and powerful body of apostate Jews (Isa. lxv. 1–5, 11; lxvi. 3, 5, 17); and just as Jehovah said of old to Moses,

"I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people: let me alone, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven: and I will make of thee a nation greater and mightier than they,"

so the prophet asserts here that the name "Israel" shall give place to a name as much higher than it as "Israel" was higher than "Jacob"—such a name, for instance, as "Jehovah our righteousness" (Jer. xxiii. 6).

It would seem therefore that "your name" in Isaiah lxv. 15*a* is equivalent to "the name of each of you" (the apostate Jews), while "another name" in ver. 15*b* means "another name for regenerate Israel" (like "a new name" in Isa. lxii. 2). There is no doubt an inconsistency in this, but only a superficial one. The unbelievers have no collective name; they are but isolated fragments from the "rock" of Abraham (Isa. li. 1, 2). The faithful however form one organism; the true Israelite loves to merge himself in the Church-nation. There are also one or two other points of some interest to be noticed. In Isaiah xliv. 5, "Jacob" and "Israel" are names of honour; in lxv. 15*b*, however, the prophet seems ashamed of the once dear name of Israel, which is no longer the equivalent of Jeshurun ("the upright"). Notice too the strange implication that the redeemed Israelites may possibly have occasion for a formula of cursing. This is parallel to the oversight in lxv. 20, bearing witness to deficient literary skill, by which, in spite of xxxiii. 24, xxxv. 8, sinners are supposed still to

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exist in the new Jerusalem. The writer, it seems, involuntarily carries present experiences into the ideal future. If there were an occasion for cursing, these convicted and punished sinners would furnish an illustration for the curse, and the sinners whom God and man would alike execrate in the new Jerusalem would not reach a second century of life. The peculiarities of chaps. lxiii. 7–lxvi. are indeed great, and must not be explained away to satisfy a theory. Perhaps the πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας ἐν τοῖς προφήταις of Hebrews i. 1 may be illustrated and confirmed by the "higher criticism" of the second part of Isaiah.

T. K. CHEYNE.

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DR. H. H. WENDT ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

THE work of Dr. Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, of which the second part has recently appeared, is of the utmost importance for the study of the Gospels, both with regard to the origin of them and to their doctrinal contents. It is a work of distinguished learning, of great originality, and of profound thought. The second part, which sets forth the contents of the doctrine of Jesus, is the most important contribution yet made to biblical theology, and the method and results of Dr. Wendt deserve the closest attention. The present paper will be limited to the Fourth Gospel, and indeed to one part of his inquiry into the unity and congruity of that Gospel.

Briefly put, Dr. Wendt's view of the Fourth Gospel is, that the source of it was a genuine writing of the Apostle John, similar in kind to the *Logia* of Matthew. The writing of John contained, not merely sayings of Jesus, but also some short account of the historical circumstances in which the words were spoken. While the *Logia* of Matthew extended over the whole ministry of Jesus, the *Logia* of John were limited to the last, the culminating period of our Lord's ministry. The writing had as an introduction a few statements of the apostle; and these statements, with a few additions, now form the prologue to the Gospel. The Johannine source is related to the Fourth Gospel as the *Logia* of Matthew is related to the first canonical Gospel. This writing of the Apostle John was edited and added to by the circle of his disciples after his death. The additions made to it by them are derived from

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various sources: partly taken from the other Gospels; partly from oral traditions, reaching back to the apostle himself; and partly from dogmatic views and the postulates which such views seemed historically to demand (*Die Lehre Jesu*, part i., p. 218) *passim*.

How, according to Dr. Wendt, are we to distinguish the original writing of John from the additions made by the circle of his disciples? In various ways, but chiefly from the difference in tone, in doctrine, and in spirit, between the original writing of John and the additions made to it by his disciples. Dr. Wendt thinks he has discovered many places where the original connexion (*Zusammenhang*) has been broken by the additions and changes which the editors have made. The second chapter (pp. 219–238) of the discussion on the Fourth Gospel sets forth in a somewhat preliminary way the places where this lack of connexion can be traced. When the unity of the existing Gospel has thus been broken, Dr. Wendt proceeds to set forth a discovery he thinks he has made, that there are two radically different views of the grounds of faith set forth in the Fourth Gospel; and this result is next used as a criterion of the parts which are original, and those which were added by the editors. This is done in the following chapter, and done with the skill and patience characteristic of Dr. Wendt.

The question we are briefly to discuss is, Are there two views of the grounds of faith in Jesus Christ as the Messiah set forth in the Fourth Gospel? Is the canonical Gospel a unity? or is it a book in which the unity is broken up by discordant materials—in which one view is set forth in the historical sections, or in the sections in which the evangelist speaks in his own name, and another view set forth in the sayings of Jesus? In almost all quarters, with the exception of Weisse, Schenkel, Schweizer, and Tobler, and some others, the unity of the Fourth Gospel has been insisted

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on. It has indeed been the basis of the attacks made on its historical character. But Dr. Wendt holds a different view; and he differs also from others in making the sayings of Jesus to be the original and trustworthy part of the Gospel, while the historical parts are additions by the disciples of John. It is well to have the testimony of such a man as Dr. Wendt to the effect that the sayings of Jesus as recorded in the Fourth Gospel are altogether credible.

It would lead us too far afield to cite the testimonies to the unity of the Gospel from all kinds of critics, nor is it necessary to do so for our purpose: for it is always open to any one to disregard everything that has been written and assumed on this topic, and to show cause why the book should no longer be considered a unity; and the only question is, Has Dr. Wendt made out his case? Our main reference is to the chapter, "Die Incongruenzen der religiösen anschauung in vierten Evangelium" (*Die Lehre Jesu*, erster Theil, pp. 238-258). He maintains that this Gospel has not arisen out of a onefold (*einheitlichen*) religious view, but that two very different views are set forth in it. In the historical parts of the Fourth Gospel faith in Jesus as the Messiah is the result of the signs which He did. These signs proved that Jesus was the bearer of a supernatural, superhuman power, and that He, by His supernatural insight into character, His supernatural knowledge, and His supernatural power, proved Himself to be the Messiah. But in the sayings of Jesus recorded in the Fourth Gospel, this view falls altogether into the background, and His claim to be the Messiah is grounded in the grace and truth manifested in His person and work. Stress is laid by Jesus, Dr. Wendt thinks, not on the signs which He did, but on the ethical and spiritual revelation of God made by Him for the salvation of men. In a word, in the historical parts faith is grounded on the miraculous, in the discourses faith is based on the character of Christ.

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In proof of this statement Dr. Wendt directs attention to the fact that in the historical parts of the Gospel the idea of signs (*σημεῖα*) obtains, while in the discourses the ideas of works (*ἔργα*) and words (*ῥήματα*) are the ruling expressions. Between these two sets of ideas Dr. Wendt draws a distinction, and the distinction as drawn by him is of overwhelming importance, if it is true.

"The great difference of this point of view indicated by this interchange of the idea of *σημεῖα*, on the one hand, and *ἔργα* and *ῥήματα*, on the other, scarcely needs a detailed exposition. If the proof of the Divine origin, the Divine fellowship, and the Divine significance for salvation of Jesus is laid in His *ἔργα* and *ῥήματα*, so far as they set forth the truth (*ἀλήθεια*), then the view rules, that the perfect religious-ethical relation corresponding to the will of God, as Jesus proclaims and realizes it, if it manifests itself in the usual forms of creaturely, earthly life, still is no product of human spiritual power, and has not merely creaturely, perishable worth, but is a manifestation of true godly power, and of a true, godly, eternal life of salvation. Above all, ethical willing and doing are so clearly the distinguishing marks of revelation, that where these are manifest we have a real and perfect revelation of God. On the other hand, when the *σημεῖα* of Jesus are made the grounds of faith in His Messiahship, then omnipotence and omniscience are the distinguishing marks of the revelation of God; and phenomena, or work beyond the ordinary course of nature, and proofs of a knowledge which passes beyond the ordinary bounds of human knowledge are held to be sufficient tokens of a real revelation of God" (pp. 241, 242).

Into the value of this distinction in itself we need not now inquire. For the question is, is there such a distinction in this Fourth Gospel? and does it coincide with the distinction between the historical parts of the Gospel and the discourses?

Immediately Dr. Wendt is confronted with the fact, that in one place at least Jesus speaks of *σημεῖα* in such a way as to make them a legitimate ground of faith in Him. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye seek Me, not because ye saw signs, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled" (John vi. 26). And, on the other hand, we have the evangelist saying in his own name, "We beheld His glory,

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glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth" (i. 14). And these two facts seem subversive of his theory. He admits also that there is a difficulty in distinguishing the words of Jesus from the words of the evangelist, and that both views of the germs of faith in Jesus as the Messiah appear in the words which the evangelist writes, and in the words which Jesus speaks. All he can affirm is, that in the words of the evangelist one view, and in the words of Jesus another prevails. The inference he draws is, that the words of Jesus are given to the evangelist, and he has not rightly understood them. The sayings of Jesus are over the head of the editor, and he has not been able to rise to the height of the great view of revelation contained in the prologue and in the discourses of Jesus.

There is a long and interesting discussion of the passage John v. 27 ff., in which he tries to show that there is really no connexion between the twenty-seventh verse and the following discourse. The next point in the proof is that in the words of Jesus, and in the historical part of the Gospel, there are two different conceptions of the works of the Messiah. What is the proof that Jesus is the Messiah? The answer to this question consists in an exposition of the passage John v. 21–28, in which Dr. Wendt contends that vers. 28, 29, "Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment," breaks the connexion of thought, and introduces another view of judgment than that contained in the verses which precede and follow. In the words of Jesus it is implied that, in the exercise of His Messianic calling, He has during the time of His earthly activity exercised the functions which properly belonged to the Messiah; *viz.* by His preaching to communicate eternal life, on the one hand, and to award judgment, on the other.

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His preaching as exercised there and then had this twofold function; and the state of men is determined by their relation to the preaching of the Messiah. They who hear have life, while they who do not hear are under judgment. But the passage, vers. 28, 29, brings in, Dr. Wendt contends, another view of judgment, simply states, as a matter of fact, that there will be a future judgment, grounds that judgment, not on the acceptance or rejection of the preaching of the Messiah, but on the good or ill which men have done; and he concludes therefore that these verses are an addition to the words of Jesus. May not this universal quickening and judgment be regarded as the consummation of the partial quickening and judgment which took place during the earthly ministry of Jesus? Dr. Wendt considers this view and rejects it, mainly because the statement of the universal quickening and judgment is introduced as a matter of fact, and its logical connexion with the context is not set forth. But the same paradox meets us frequently in the writings of the Apostle Paul. In his writings we are told that there is no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus, and we are also told that there is to be a universal judgment when "we must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. v. 10). Are we to set down all those passages as interpolations wherein Paul sets forth the principle of the final judgment as a principle of judgment according to works, or where he introduces the final judgment simply as a matter of fact?

Finally the difference of view is found in those passages in which the evangelist attempts to explain certain words of Jesus, and instead of explaining them shows that he has misunderstood them. These passages are the following: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," and the explanation of the evangelist, "But He spake of

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the temple of His body" (ii. 19, 21). "Now in the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me, and drink. He that believeth on Me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." And the evangelist misunderstands when he says, "But this spake He of the Spirit, which they that believed in Him should receive: for the Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified" (vii. 37, 39). Another mistaken explanation is found in the passage (xii. 32), "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me"; which is thus explained, "This He said, signifying by what death He should die." And finally the evangelist has misunderstood the words of Jesus (xvii. 12): "While I was with them, I kept them in Thy name which Thou hast given Me: I guarded them, and not one of them is lost"; which he thus explains (xviii. 9): "That the word might be fulfilled which He spake, Of those whom Thou hast given Me I lost not one."

How do these supposed mistakes and misunderstandings of the words of Jesus bear on the thesis of Dr. Wendt, that there are in the Gospel two views of the ground of faith in Jesus as the Messiah? In all these instances the words of Jesus refer not to a *σημεῖον* in the outward sense, not to a particular work of God's power which is outside of the ordinary course of nature, but to something said or done by Him which, though within the usual course of nature, is a higher proof of Divine working than any outward *σημεῖον* could be. But the evangelist has in all of them given an interpretation of the words of Jesus which limits them to an outward and external interference with the usual course of nature. With regard to the passage in the second chapter, Dr. Wendt says that if the comment of the evangelist be correct, then Jesus had given utterance to a dark saying, the meaning of which must neces-

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sarily be misunderstood. Again, he lays stress on the active form of the verb ἐγείρω; and says that the New Testament form is always passive: that Jesus did not raise Himself from the dead, but that He was raised from the dead by God, on which it is sufficient to quote Meyer:

"It is only a seeming objection to John's explanation that, according to New Testament theology, Christ did not raise Himself from the dead, but was raised by the Father. Any such contradiction to the Christian mode of view, if real, must have prevented John himself, above every one, from referring to the resurrection. But the objection disappears if we simply give due weight to the figurative nature of the expression, which rests upon the visible contemplation of the *resurrection*, according to which the *subject* that arises, whose resurrection is described as the re-erecting of the destroyed temple, must also be the subject that erects the temple, without affecting the further doctrine, which moreover does not come under consideration, that the *causa efficiens*, i.e. the actual revivifying power, is the Father. Christ, receiving this life again from the Father, and rising again, Himself raises up by His very resurrection the destroyed temple" (Meyer on John; Clark's translation, vol. i., p. 156).

It is not therefore clear that the evangelist has misunderstood the word of Jesus. Such a conclusion must be the result of exegetical despair, and is not to be held, if any other explanation is tenable. So also of the other passages. As we read the remarks of Dr. Wendt, we cannot help feeling that his exegesis is somewhat strained, and the attempt to show that the comment of the evangelist is grounded on a misunderstanding fails. To deal with the details of his exposition would take too much space. The points on which he lays stress are familiar to all students of the Gospel, have been considered in detail by competent exegetes, and by them have not been held to prove that the comment of the evangelist has misunderstood the statements of Jesus.

But these views of Dr. Wendt ought to be well grounded, inasmuch as they are made the fulcrum from which the whole fabric of the Fourth Gospel is broken up, and resolved

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into its various parts. Having thus established his principle, he next applies it; and with the result that he presents us with the *disjecta membra* which remain. Part of the prologue is from the original source, and part is interpolated. The part after the prologue, from the eighteenth verse of the first chapter to the twelfth verse of the second chapter, contains no trace of the original source. The account of the cleansing of the temple belongs to the source, except that ver. 17 is a gloss of the evangelist. There are a few sayings in the section ii. 23 to iv. 54 which belong to the source. The conversation with Nicodemus, with the exception, that the passage which grounds the Divine mission of Jesus on the signs which He did, "No man can do these signs which Thou doest, except God be with him," is an addition made by the evangelist. So Dr. Wendt goes through the Gospel, and with the utmost confidence separates the parts belonging to the source from the additions made by the subsequent editor. Let what is given suffice as a specimen. We ought to be very sure of the strength, sufficiency, and delicacy of the instrument with which such work is to be done.

One important result flows from the labours of Dr. Wendt. Taking the first part of the book along with the second part, in which the contents of the teaching of Jesus are set forth, and we have this significant conclusion: that there is essential agreement between the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels and the teaching of the Fourth Gospel. This is a great gain, inasmuch as the more common opinion has always represented the sayings or conversations of the Fourth Gospel as the chief source of difficulty in ascribing the authorship of it to an eyewitness. We may take Dr. James Martineau as an exponent of the more common view, and he expresses it thus:

"Nor is it possible to piece together, as expressions of the same personality, the synoptical *discourses of Jesus* and those of the Fourth

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Gospel; and the same circle of disciples cannot be answerable for both. If it be true (Mark iv. 34) that 'without a parable spake he not unto them,' no address of his is given us by the last evangelist; for of this picturesque and winning type of public teaching, so locally true, so personally characteristic, not a single instance appears in his narrative. Instead of these coloured lights upon the teacher's doctrine, we have it wrapped in dark disguise; the concrete language of life, born in the field, the boat, the olive ground, is exchanged for the abstract forms of philosophical conception; the terse maxims of conduct and epigrams of moral wisdom, for doctrinal enigmas and hinted mysteries of sentiment. The simple directness with which, in the earlier reports, the speaker advances to his end, and leaves it, is here replaced by the windings of subtle reflection, and the repetitions of unsatisfied controversy. He passes from the breadth and sunshine of the hills to the studious and nocturnal lamp of the library; and exchanges the music of living voices, never twice the same, for the monotonous pitch of speech, which flows unvaried through the lips of Jesus or the historian, of Nicodemus or the woman of Samaria, of this disciple or of that" (*Seat of Authority in Religion*, pp. 214, 215).

What Dr. Martineau has declared impossible has actually been done by Dr. Wendt, with masterly power and decisive success. Whoso shall read the various sections in the second part of the work of Dr. Wendt, which expound the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, and note the correspondence between the ideas contained in them and in the Synoptics as it is set forth by Dr. Wendt, must be persuaded that both flow from the "same personality." The worth of this part of Dr. Wendt's book is conspicuous. It is full of originality, it is effective and convincing. No greater contribution to the study of biblical theology has been made in our time. The value of it is enhanced by the fact that it is so far independent of the analysis of the Gospel made by him in the first part of the work. Those who are unable to accept either the method or the results of the process set forth in the first part of his work may well be thankful to him for the brilliant and satisfactory exposition of the teaching of Christ contained in the second part. No one who has not read what Dr. Wendt has

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written on the subject can have a right to speak as Dr. Martineau has done, and as others have done, of the discourses of the Fourth Gospel. Into a discussion of Dr. Wendt's exposition we cannot now enter. But we direct attention to it, because of its great ability and exceeding importance.

Accepting what Dr. Wendt has established as to the discourses of the Fourth Gospel, is it necessary for us to separate them from the more historical parts, or to regard them as unhistorical, the work of a later editor who has misunderstood the meaning of the sayings? Even where we dissent most widely from the method and results of Dr. Wendt, we are deeply indebted to him. While his statement of the difference in the point of view of the discourses and the other parts of the Fourth Gospel cannot be accepted, we may feel thankful to him for calling attention to the fact that there is a difference. In the words of Jesus all things are referred to the Father: He does the Father's works, He speaks the Father's words. He does nothing of Himself; as the Father teaches Him, so He speaks. He has come from God, He does the work of God, He returns to God. The consciousness of relationship to the Father runs through all the discourses, and every claim He makes is made because of His relationship to the Father. Along with this habitual reference to the Father, we have also the assertion that He is the indispensable bearer of salvation to the people, and the only means of life for them. In His relation to the Father, Jesus ever speaks in these discourses of His dependence on the Father; in His relation to man He makes the most stupendous claims in virtue of His consciousness of oneness with the Father. With regard to men He says, I am the light of the world; I am the Bread of life ; I am the door; I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by Me; and many other sayings of a similar import. In the historical parts of

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the Gospel, it may be freely granted, the relationship to the Father is less conspicuous, falls more into the background. To the evangelist Jesus is in the foreground. His person, His work, His glory fill the whole horizon; he is so occupied with Jesus that, however real his knowledge is that Jesus is the Son of God, yet that knowledge is not prominently set forth or insisted on. If the disciple dwells on the glory of the Son, that is not to the exclusion of the glory of the Father. Nay, to the evangelist the glory of the Son is the glory of the Father, and the Father and the Son are one. There is no inconsistency between the statement, "This beginning of His signs did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested His glory; and His disciples believed on Him" (ii. 11), and the other statement, "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me? the words that I say unto you I speak not from Myself: but the Father abiding in Me doeth the works" (xiv. 10). The disciple does not for the moment look beyond Jesus. And he speaks simply and naturally of His Master and His Master's glory. From his point of view, it is scarcely possible that he should speak otherwise. The glory of the Son is indeed "the glory of the only begotten from the Father," but none the less is there a proper glory of the Son. And the evangelist delights to set forth the glory of the Son.

It is quite true that the evangelist dwells with delight on the signs which Jesus did. He selects and he records some instances of the more than human insight into character and motive manifested by Jesus, and of works in the doing of which more than human power was exercised by Jesus. It is also true that, in the words of Jesus, these are described as ἔργα which He was enabled to do, because He was commissioned and empowered to do them by the Father. This however is the whole extent of the difference, and it is not sufficient to warrant the inference drawn by Dr. Wendt.

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Nor can the contention be made good that the ἔργα referred to in the words of Jesus are limited to the religious-ethical sphere. This limitation is arbitrary, and yet it is on this limitation that Dr. Wendt bases his whole argument. In various ways and from various points of view he sets forth this distinction, and insists that the view of Jesus and His work set forth in the historical parts is contrary to the view set forth in the words of Jesus Himself. It would be scarcely relevant to say that in this interpretation Dr. Wendt stands almost alone; for an opinion must be tried on its merits, and not by the number of those who hold it. But it is relevant to the argument to give the view of another distinguished critic and theologian on the same subject. Thus Weizsacker (*Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*, p. 244) says: "The faith which His miracles produce is only a preparation (*Nothbehelf*) for the faith which rests on the view of His unity with God, and is obtained from His personal self-revelation in word. But so much the more is the history ruled by the thought with which the author begins his exposition. This is manifest pre-eminently in the miracles of Jesus and in His relations to His opponents. The miracles which the evangelist has selected for exposition are not set forth as deeds flowing out of the goodness and pity of Jesus, but as necessary revelations of the Divine glory present in Him." Here we have a view different altogether from the view presented by Dr. Wendt, and more in agreement with the real position of the evangelist.

It is admitted by Dr. Wendt that the works of the Son have a supernatural character, though he limits their supernatural character to the religious-ethical sphere. They are supernatural so far, and only in so far, as they manifest the grace and truth which are in Jesus. But as Baur has pointed out (*Neutestamentliche Theologie*, p. 320), the Messianic signs of the Fourth Gospel are "the imme-

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diate reflex of the highest Divine energy, and it is utterly superfluous to discuss the question of how these ἔργα are related to miracles properly so called, or acts of Divine activity; as manifestations of the might of the Father working in the Son, all Messianic ἔργα have a supernatural character." Jesus had done works which no other man had done, and it seems somewhat arbitrary to limit these works to the spiritual sphere. It is to be observed also that the evangelist always lays stress on the spiritual side of the σημεῖα. They are of value and of significance to him, not as works of power or as works of supernatural insight, but as signs, manifestations of the glory of Jesus. Nor does he attach much value to the faith which is grounded even on signs. He records that "when Jesus was in Jerusalem at the feast, many believed on His name, beholding the signs which He did." But the following verses reveal the estimate in which the evangelist held such faith. It was not a faith which Jesus could trust, nor of the kind which would outlast a day of trial. It is significant also that Nicodemus was at the outset one of the kind of men who believed in Jesus because of the signs which He did. That part of the verse which Dr. Wendt would strike out—"for no man can do these signs that Thou doest, except God be with him"—is precisely the part which is needed to make the subsequent conversation intelligible. It is necessary in order that we may understand how a faith grounded on signs must advance if it is to become true and living faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour. The way in which Nicodemus persists in attaching the barest physical meaning to our Lord's words, and the slow, hesitating fashion in which his mind opens to receive spiritual truth, prove that he was just the kind of man to place in the foreground the signs which Jesus did as a proof that He was a teacher come from God. But the fact that the evangelist has placed the statement on record shows that he was quite

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alive to the spiritual significance of the ἔργα and ῥήματα of Jesus.

The same tendency to look at the words of Jesus on their physical side appears in the woman of Samaria. She persists in thinking of the water of Jacob's well, while the Master speaks of the living water. The interest of the conversation lies in the manner in which her mind and heart are slowly awakened to the understanding of the deeper meaning of the words of Jesus. By slow degrees her moral nature is quickened, her conscience aroused, and her intelligence opened to understand the spiritual significance of the teaching of Jesus. True, no doubt, Jesus does manifest in His intercourse with the woman of Samaria and with Nicodemus an insight into character and motive which is more than human, but not more than was needed by Him for the proper exercise of His Messianic calling. But the thing to be noted is, that the evangelist, in recording this conversation, strives with all his strength to make us understand that the significance of the conversation lay, not in the superhuman knowledge of Jesus, but in the fact that the woman was spiritually persuaded, and was enabled to receive the spiritual gifts which Jesus desired to give her. In other words, the evangelist tells the story of the sign, not for its own sake, but because, by means of it, the woman was enabled to receive the grace and truth which were in Jesus. If Jesus was the only begotten of the Father, if He was the bearer of grace and truth to the human race, then we might have expected Him to be the possessor of exceptional knowledge and power. If He had so much insight into the character and purpose of the Father as to be able to say, "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son," and, "God is a spirit: and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and in truth," need we be surprised that He should have had such knowledge of men as He manifested in His intercourse

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with Peter, with Nathanael, with Nicodemus, and with the woman of Samaria? In all these cases, if faith began with the "signs," it speedily passed beyond "signs," and became that faith in Him which recognised Him to be full of grace and truth. The evangelist perfectly understood the bearing of the words of Jesus.

As we follow Dr. Wendt through the Gospel, we are increasingly impressed with the untenableness of his view. For notwithstanding the strenuous attempts which he makes to tear asunder the historical parts and the discourses, they still cohere together. The "signs" selected are significant works, and are inseparably connected with the words which follow. When Dr. Wendt declares that historical introduction (chap. v. 1–16) was not contained in the traditional form of the source, and was a reminiscence of the work of healing recorded in Mark ii. 10, transformed to form a suitable introduction to the following words, we are conscious that considerable violence has been done to the passage. For the words in the concluding part of the chapter have precise reference both to the kind of work and to the fact that the work was done on the Sabbath day. "The Jews did persecute Jesus, because He did these things on the Sabbath." Their persecution of Him had this twofold source; His answer to them had reference as much to the kind of work as to the fact that it had been done on the Sabbath. On Dr. Wendt's view of the passage the words of Jesus, "My Father worketh even until now, and I work," become unintelligible. The further development of the conversation has also most precise reference to the historical introduction. In healing the man at the Pool of Bethesda, Jesus was doing the same kind of work that the Father did. The work of the Son was identical with the work of the Father: "For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth Him all things that Himself doeth"; "As the Father hath life in Himself, even so gave He to the

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Son to have life in Himself." In this saying we have the point of union between the two views which Dr. Wendt declares to be contradictory. We have in them the view which prevails in the words of Jesus, His way of referring all things to the Father; and the view of the evangelist, which lays stress on "signs" as manifestations and revelations of the character of the Son. The life which Jesus has is from the Father; but then the Father has given to the Son to have life in Himself, and to be the source of life to others. The work of the Son is given Him by the Father, but to us it is still the work of the Son.

In this and in other instances Dr. Wendt has failed to make his contention good. The feeding of the five thousand, the healing of the man blind from his birth, and the raising of Lazarus from the dead, are inseparably connected with the teaching of Jesus in the words which are ascribed to Him by the evangelist. No one has shown this more clearly than Baur, particularly in his *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, which, as an objective exposition, is of surpassing merit. But our space is done, and the fact can only be stated, not proven. For a complete statement would need to follow Dr. Wendt step by step, and would need to show unity where he finds disagreement, and to show that there is really an inward coherence between the historical parts and the sayings of Jesus. This cannot be done here.

But one remark may be made in conclusion. Dr. Wendt quotes often and lays great stress on the words (John xx. 31), "These signs are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life in His name": and he maintains (p. 243) that in the words of Jesus "there is an altogether different view of the ground of faith in Jesus as the Messiah from that which is set forth in the words John xx. 31. But the "signs" to which reference is made are the "signs" written in this book, and the sign immediately preceding

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is the appearance of the risen Lord to Thomas. It seems arbitrary to limit the use of the word "signs" to the works of power or to the wonders of knowledge which were manifested by Jesus. The words ought to be taken in all their breadth, and they include all that is written in the book. Both the ἔργα and the ῥήματα of Jesus recorded in this book are σημεῖα, indications of the personality of Jesus, signs of the Divine power, grace, truth, and love which dwelt in Him. All the "signs" written in these books, and those which are not written, all the works done by Him, all His recorded words, are "signs" of the glory of the only begotten from the Father, manifestations of Him out of whose fulness we have all received, and grace for grace.

JAMES IVERACH.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE EARLIER CHAPTERS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

THE metaphor which has often been used of late, that the Church passed into a tunnel in the last quarter of the first century and emerged into the open daylight in the middle of the second, admits of another and an earlier application. The Church may be said to have passed through a shorter tunnel at the very commencement of its course. It entered it after the death of the Lord; it emerged in the time of St. Paul's active work. Whereas from the year 55 to 70 A.D. we have definite authorities and documents of fixed date, between the years 30 and 55 A.D. the case is very different; our knowledge of the events of those years comes to us either from documents of uncertain date or from those of an admittedly later date. Can we then feel any certainty of being able to reproduce the life of that time, of being able to enter into the thoughts, the beliefs, "the love, hope, fear,

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and faith" of the Christian Church before it was dominated by the masterful influence of St. Paul?

Necessarily there must be an element of precariousness about our answer to this question, yet there are many lines of evidence which converge to throw light upon the darkness. It is quite probable that the Epistle of St. James falls within this period; possible, if not so probable, that the First Epistle of St. Peter and even the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* are of the same date. Without doubt the Epistle to the Hebrews gives us an insight into "the first principles of Christ," the foundation of Christianity as laid in a Hebrew Christian community (Heb. vi. 1). Without doubt St. Paul's epistle to Rome witnesses to a "form of teaching," whereunto Christian converts were delivered in a mixed Church of Jews and Gentiles, in which he himself had never taught (Rom. vi. 17, Rev. Ver.). Without doubt the common material used by the synoptists points back to an early catechetical substratum, and one which very possibly may have received even a written form before the preaching of St. Paul; while, lastly, a careful examination of the language of the earlier chapters of the Acts of the Apostles makes it morally certain that the writer is dependent on materials, either oral or written, which represent the earliest thoughts of the Christian mind. It is with this last point alone that this article will deal.

It is, indeed, not always easy to disengage these materials from their setting. Here, no less than in the later narrative, where he claims to be an eye-witness, the author has added his explanations, has commented upon the events, has attempted to interpret the motives of the various actors in the scene, has gauged the effects of each event upon the general history of the Church; yet, when allowance has been made for this, there still remains a marked difference between the earlier and later chapters, which can only be accounted for either by a personal knowledge of the different

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circumstances of the time, or by dependence upon different materials. The Christology affords the most striking instance of this. The conceptions of the Lord will be found to be coloured by two influences: first, they are rich with the memories of His life on earth; secondly, they are moulded on two or three striking and obviously messianic passages of the Old Testament: the Lord is identified from the outset with the prophet foretold by Moses; with the Christ, the Holy One, the Lord, of the psalmists; with "the servant of Jehovah" in the latter half of Isaiah. These two influences will be illustrated in turn, though they intertwine so subtly that it is not always possible to keep them apart.

First then, the Lord whom the apostles preach is essentially a man. He is a man, with whom indeed God is present in a marked way; a man who has been raised from the dead, and exalted to the right hand of God: yet a *Man* anointed by God for His work. He is "a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders and signs, which God did by Him" (ii. 22); "God anointed Him with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed with the devil; for God was with Him" (x. 38). Once He is called by His own favourite title for Himself, the Son of man: "I see the heavens opened, and *the Son of man* standing on the right hand of God" (vii. 56). The origin of this title may be traced to the influence of prophecy. In the book of Daniel (vii. 13) we have, indeed, only the much simpler expression, "one like unto a son of man"; but the fuller phrase seems to be used in the parables of the book of Enoch. Even here Dr. Westcott regards the sense as being "equally limited as before" (cf. Additional Note on St. John i. 51, § 5); but though the Ethiopic language, in which that book has been preserved for us, has no article, yet it has certain defining circumlocutions which are used in this case, and both Dillmann and Schodde

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translate it "*the* Son of man." It is at least as definitely "*the* Son of man" in the Ethiopic book of Enoch as it is in the Ethiopic translation of the New Testament.[1] Perhaps it would be true to say that the book of Enoch exhibits a distinct advance upon the expression in the book of Daniel; the phrase used in Enoch implies "the definite being who, as Messiah, is the Son of man"; while yet it may fall short of that fulness of meaning which Dr. Westcott would rightly read into it as used by our Lord, "He who stands in a special relation to the human race, as its ideal representative, in whom all the potential powers of humanity were gathered." As used by St. Stephen, however, the phrase is not necessarily at all in advance of the conception of the book of Enoch; but it needs to be remembered that the date of the parables, though probably pre-Christian, is not so clearly such that we can build upon it a certain argument of the use of the phrase earlier than the gospels. It occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. In the later Christian writings it is found in a Jewish Christian account of a Jewish Christian apostle, the account of the martyrdom of St. James given by Hegesippus. There when urged by the Jews to dissuade people from believing in Jesus as the Messiah, he answers: "Why ask me about Jesus the Son of man? He sits in heaven at the right hand of the Mighty Power, and is about to come on the clouds of heaven."[2] This seems to be the only place in Christian literature[3] where the phrase is used as a clear title of the Lord, except in direct quotations from the gospels.

Again, the Lord is still known as "Jesus of Nazareth," a title in which we partly hear the echo of the scorn of

[1] I am indebted for this statement to Rev. R. H. Charles, who has made a special study of the book of Enoch.

[2] Quoted in Eusebius ii. 23.

[3] Cf. Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 243.

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the Jerusalem rabbi, as in the charge against St. Stephen: "We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place" (vi. 14); or in the words of a Pharisee of the Pharisees: "I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth: and this I also did *in Jerusalem*" (xxvi. 9); and again, in the Lord's words, accepting the title of scorn, "I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest" (xxii. 8); while on the lips of the apostles themselves there is perhaps a tinge of triumphant satire as they glory in a name which excites such scorn and conveys such blessing: "Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even in Him doth this man stand here before you whole" (iv. 10; cf. ii. 22, iii. 6, x. 38). The title does not reappear after the tenth chapter, except in the two instances quoted above, which really prove the point; both are referring back to the earlier days: the one, to St. Paul's feelings before his conversion; the other, to the Lord's words to him at the conversion. It does not appear in any of the epistles of the New Testament.

As we pass to the deeper conceptions of His nature, the influence of the Old Testament begins to make itself felt. Thus He is the Christ, whose sufferings had been foretold by the mouth of all the prophets; and notably in the second psalm (iii. 18–20, iv. 27). He is "the Lord Jesus" (i. 21), the fulfilment of the ideal "Lord" of Psalm cx. 1 (ii. 34–36); He is "Lord of all" (x. 36). He is the "prophet" foretold in the book of Deuteronomy (iii. 22; cf. vii. 37). Not less really, although there is no hint of the fact, is the title "Saviour" steeped in Old Testament imagery, whether it be meant consciously to recall the judges whom God raised up as saviours against earthly enemies (cf. v. 31 with Judges iii. 9, 15), or to represent

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God Himself, the primary source of all salvation (cf. iv. 12 with Isaiah xlv. 21, 22). This title is naturally not peculiar to these chapters. It is not as common as might be expected; but it is found once again in the Acts (in St. Paul's speech to Jews, xiii. 23), in the Philippians, the pastoral epistles, 2 Peter, Jude, and St. John. A rarer title, ἀρχηγός, which is found used either absolutely as "a Prince" (v. 31), or defined as "the Prince or Author of life" (iii. 15), is a word of frequent usage in the LXX. Such instances as Numbers xiv. 4, "Let us make *a captain*, and return into Egypt," or Isaiah iii. 6, "Thou hast clothing, be thou our *ruler*," will illustrate its meaning; but they can scarcely be said to suggest the title as applied to the Lord. Apart from these early chapters, the word occurs in the New Testament only in the epistle most closely associated with Jewish Christians, the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the similar phrases, "*the author* of their salvation," "*the author* of our faith" (Heb. ii. 10, xii. 2).

But there is another title which comes direct from the Old Testament, though the mistranslation of the Authorized Version has long obscured the fact. Philip taught the Ethiopian to see in Jesus the fulfilment of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; and that same context has supplied for Him the title of "the Servant" of God. Peter and John so entitle Him: "The God of our fathers hath glorified His Servant Jesus"; and again, "God, having raised up His Servant, sent Him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquities" (iii. 13 and 26). The whole company of the apostles re-echo it: "For of a truth in this city against Thy holy Servant Jesus, whom Thou didst anoint (cf. Isa. lxi. 1), both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, were gathered together" (iv. 27; cf. 30 and viii. 32, 33). The use of this title is the most instructive of all. Within these chapters it occurs five times; outside them in the New Testament

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only once, in the direct quotation of Isaiah by St. Matthew (xii. 18), the essentially Jewish-Christian evangelist. It reappears in the *Didachè* (cap. ix. twice), in the *Epistle of St. Clement* (cap. lix., thrice), in the *Martyrdom of St. Polycarp* (cap. xiv.), and several times in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 5, 14, 39, 40, 41); but nearly always in prayers, as though it were a stereotyped liturgical formula, possibly adapted from some Jewish original: and even in these places the original meaning of servant seems gradually to have been supplanted by that of son. In the *Didachè* the words are: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, τοῦ παιδός σου, which Thou didst make known to us through Jesus, τοῦ παιδός σου"; and again: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou didst make known to us through Jesus, τοῦ παιδός σου." Here the comparison with David seems to make "servant" far more appropriate than that of son. In St. Clement the title is fuller, διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδός; but this could be equally well referred to the thought of servant (cf. St. Matt. xii. 18) or to that of son (cf. St. Matt. iii. 17, Eph. i. 6, Col. i. 13), and there is nothing in the context to decide between these alternative renderings. But the language of the prayer in the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, "O Lord, God Almighty, *Father* of Thy beloved and blessed Son (παιδός) Jesus Christ," shows that the idea of Son was by this time the most prominent in the word, and when the Latin translation of St. Irenæus was made, παῖς was regularly represented by "filius" (cf. Iren. III., xii. 5, 6).

We have then here a title of our Lord which does not appear anywhere in the epistles, and appears outside the New Testament in a form which implies that its original meaning was gradually misunderstood.

There remains yet one other set of titles, perhaps the most interesting of all. Jesus is the Holy, the Righteous

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One. This is associated mainly with the language of prophecy. One of the words is taken directly from Psalm xvi. 10: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades; neither wilt Thou give Thy Holy One (*τὸν ὅσιόν σου*) to see corruption." Here the stress is laid on character; it implies one who is essentially holy, one who shares God's character, one who is "duteous in love" (Cheyne *ad loc.*). Elsewhere it stands in close connexion with the idea of God's servant, "Thy holy Servant" (*τὸν ἅγιον παῖδα*, iv. 27, 30): but here the different adjective lays stress rather on dedication; He is one consecrated to the service of Jehovah. Finally, He is the Righteous One (*ὁ δίκαιος*), and perhaps no title bears with it so intrinsically the stamp of an early currency. It recalls the first indignant protest of the disciples, smarting under the sense of the *injustice* of their Master's condemnation. It is on a level with the entreaty of Pilate's wife to Pilate, to have nothing to do with *that righteous man* (St. Matt. xxvii. 19), or with the conviction of the Roman centurion, "Certainly this was *a righteous man*" (St. Luke xxiii. 47). The sinlessness of Jesus is thrown into relief by the injustice of His judges, who preferred a murderer to Him, and

> "At length Him nailèd on a gallow-tree,
> And slew the Just by most unjust decree."

"Ye denied the Holy and Righteous One, and asked for a murderer to be granted unto you" (Acts iii. 14). But more than this lies hid in the title; as the Righteous One, He has been the goal to which all the prophets pointed; they "showed before of the coming of the Righteous One" (vii. 52); He it is who embodies God's righteousness, the righteous Branch, who will establish righteousness upon the earth (cf. Isa. xi. 5, Jer. xxiii. 5). The title appears already fixed as applied to the Messiah in the book of Enoch, where we read that at the end of the world "the Just One shall appear in the presence of the just who are

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chosen" (chap. 38); and this is explained later, "This is the Son of man who has justice, and justice dwells with Him, and all the treasures of secrecy He reveals, because the Lord of the spirits has chosen Him, and His portion overcomes all things before the Lord of the spirits in rectitude to eternity" (chap. 46). This title occurs once in the later chapters of the Acts, but again the exception proves the rule. It is in the record of St. Paul's conversion, where it is put into the mouth of a Jewish-Christian, explaining to Saul the meaning of the conversion: "The God of our fathers hath appointed thee to know His will, and to see the Righteous One" (xxii. 14). A comparison of Romans x. 3 with Philippians iii. 9 will show what this meant to St. Paul. All his life he had been seeking after righteousness; but before his conversion his aim had been to establish a righteousness of his own; now he had seen righteousness in its completeness, embodied in Jesus Christ; henceforth his only aim was to submit himself to that, and to receive it into himself. The phrase does not occur as a direct title applied to our Lord anywhere else in the New Testament.

This review of the Christology of these chapters certainly has shown us the presence of language which varies from that of later times and which is in many respects peculiarly appropriate in the first days of the Church. It would be easy also to point out the striking absence of the definite theological language, both of St. Paul and of St. John, or of the Epistle to the Hebrews. To take but one instance, the simple title, "the Son of God," though that is implied in the application of the second Psalm to Jesus, occurs first in the Acts, where the writer summarizes the teaching of St. Paul (ix. 20); and the more definite theological technicalities of the epistles are entirely wanting.

But let us get behind the words to the thoughts, and see what points they were which impressed the first Christians

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in the Lord, what they were most anxious to put forward to those whom they would convert. First then, it was a miraculous Christ; the evidence which supports the simpler conceptions of Him supports this also from the outset. But more emphasis is laid upon His character: He was to them the ideal of a human life, the type of holiness, of consecration, of righteousness. But He was more than this, He had the power to communicate this righteousness: He was a Saviour, He could inspire repentance, He could grant forgiveness, He could bless by turning His followers from their iniquities: He was a leader whom they could follow, a prophet who had explained God's will to them; but at the same time He was the very type of loyal obedience, of all that had been foreshadowed in an ideal servant, in one who was to be as a lamb led to the slaughter, showing the perfection of self-sacrifice and its vicarious force, who was to go as God's triumphant messenger to Jew and Gentile alike. Enthusiasm for character, for righteousness, for holiness, for consecrated obedience, this was the first inspiring force of the Christian Church.

Two interesting considerations arise out of these facts, the one of a more literary, the other of a more dogmatic kind.

First, they have a bearing on Paulinism, as showing that the germs of it were already in existence, and that St. Paul's teaching was a true development. The two doctrines most commonly connected with St. Paul are the doctrine of justification by faith and that of the catholicity of the Church. But the essential kernel of the doctrine of justification by faith lies in this, that righteousness is a gift of God, that it is not a height up to which man works in his own strength, but a life embodied in Christ Jesus, given forth from Him to those who put faith in Him. Now the possibility of this is implied in treating Christ as the ideal of holiness and of righteousness. If He was one who fully

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embodied and expressed the character of God, if He represented the fullest conception of righteousness to which prophets had looked forward, if He was the Just One who was going to establish righteousness and to judge the world, then He and He alone could be the source of hope and faith to those who were seeking for righteousness: and all this seems involved in the titles, "the Holy One," "the Righteous One"; and these titles are pre-Pauline. Again, the work of the ideal Servant of Jehovah is clearly described by Isaiah as intended for Jew and Gentile alike: "I will also give Thee for a light to the Gentiles, that Thou mayest be My salvation to the ends of the earth" (Isa. xlix. 6). This thought is indeed not worked out in these earlier chapters; and many difficulties arose as to the method in which it was to be worked out in fact, nor can we exaggerate the debt which we owe to St. Paul in the efficient working of it out; yet it is not too strong to say that the identification of the Lord with the ideal Servant of Jehovah carried with it of necessity the catholicity of the Church; and this identification is pre-Pauline.

How much more even than this was implied in the use of the title will be apparent at once to any student who will take such an analysis of it as that given in Dr. Driver's *Isaiah* (pp. 175–178). That analysis does not anticipate the Christian application, it draws out only the meaning of it to the writer at the time; but it shows that the identification of Jesus with that Servant implies that the historic nation had failed in its true work of righteousness, that that work was taken up by one who represented and impersonated all that is true and characteristic in the nation, who became a prophet to the whole world, and suffered and died for the sins of others.

On the other hand, these facts may seem to throw discredit on the gospel narrative. It may be said: "Your earliest conceptions of the Lord are so simple; they do not,

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on your own showing, treat Him as 'Son of God' until they come under the influence of St. Paul. What then becomes of the gospel accounts, which clearly treat Him as such? May they not have been modified by subsequent influences?" To this it is a sufficient reply that the gospels themselves show how gradually the Lord trained His disciples to understand about His nature. He had been to them the prophet, the miracle-worker, the beneficent healer, before they could be taught the secret of His death and the exact relation which His life bore to God; and it was but natural that they should try to win converts by the same lessons by which they had been converted themselves, that they should show somewhat of the same reverence for deep truths, the same shrinking from harming their converts by forcing them prematurely to face decisive questions, which He had shown in dealing with themselves.

This answer leads us to the more dogmatic consideration. We see how the acceptance of mere theological dogma, of intellectual interpretation of facts, is never the primary factor in the Christian life. That was and is and will always be trust in a Person. In ordinary life trust in a friend precedes an intellectual analysis of his qualities; when that trust has to be justified to our own intellectual consciousness, or defended against opposition, or explained to those who have never seen him, we are obliged to analyse, to interpret, to formulate. So the need of teaching new converts, the need of meeting false views about their Master, the need of justifying the worship of their Master and correlating it with their belief in the unity of God or with the presence of evil in the world, drew out the complete dogmatic conceptions of St. Paul and of St. John.

Before the deeper conceptions, the simple titles of the early Christology pass away; but they are absorbed, not destroyed, supplemented, not supplanted. The human life, the sinless character, the suffering Redeemer, the type of

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obedience, these still live on in the deeper theology of St. Paul, and of St. John, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus, to take this last epistle only as an illustration, none of these titles, of which we have been speaking, reappears in it; yet, though not called "the Son of man," He, who is "the very image of God's substance," is still like unto His brethren, touched with the feeling of our infirmities. He is not called "the Righteous, the Holy One," but He is still without sin, holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners; He is not called the Servant of Jehovah, but He is still the type of obedience, who learned obedience by the things that He suffered. The earlier conceptions are there at the background still, and the later conceptions are not less true because historically they are formulated later. They are, we may almost say, more true; at least more fundamental, more operative, more ultimate, inasmuch as the life is always prior to and deeper than its manifestations. The Church had not drawn farther away from the historical Christ, when it knew a Christ after the flesh no more; it had pierced deeper into the centre of the historic life as it realized its motive power, and knew and formulated with unfaltering exactness the Nature which had given to that historic teaching its soul-piercing inspiration, to that life its infinite meekness and gentleness, to that character its sinlessness.

W. Lock.

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THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

VI.

(1 Cor. xv. 53–58.)

With the preceding verse of the chapter the great assembly marking the day of the Lord's coming had been convened. The last trumpet had sounded, the dead had been raised incorruptible, and the living had been changed. Everything was thus ready for that song of triumph even now in the mind of the Apostle, and soon to burst from his lips. But, before he sings the song, he must pause for a moment to behold, in this wonderful gathering of redeemed souls in glorified bodies, the contrast to the present state of things on earth, and to show that that contrast, in all its brightness, was nothing more than the accomplishment of the Divine plan: "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." It is certainly a question whether these words may not be intended only to give fresh utterance to the principle enunciated in ver. 50: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption"; and this seems to be the view generally entertained.[1] In that case, as ver. 50 referred to none but believers alive at the *parousia*, the same reference would need to be given to the words before us, and both clauses of ver. 53 will have to be understood of one and the same class of persons. The probabilities of the case seem to be against this view.

There is no need to repeat a principle already stated with sufficient clearness, and it is highly natural that St. Paul, before uttering the language which celebrates the completeness of the Christian victory, should think once

[1] Comp. Hofmann, Rückert, Edwards, Ellicott.

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more of all who, in any part of the argument of this chapter, have been before his mind as conquerors in the strife, and not of one class of them alone. If so, ver. 53 will contain a reference not only to such believers as shall be alive at the *parousia*, but to such believers also as have died before that event. The two clauses will then be best understood as relating to the two classes of believers in the order in which they have been mentioned in the chapter: the first, "this corruptible," applying to Christians who have died, but shall at the great day of judgment be introduced to new and more glorious forms of life; the second, "this mortal," applying to those who, without passing through death, shall be in that day changed. Nor does the verb "put on" (ἐνδύσασθαι) appear to be less suitable to that receiving of a new body which is to be the portion of believers who have passed through the grave than to that transformation of their old bodies which shall be experienced by Christians who are alive when the Lord comes again. It can hardly be shown that the words of 2 Corinthians v. 2-4 are inconsistent with this idea. When St. Paul uses the same verb in that passage, it is not clear that he speaks only of the living. He seems to speak also of the dead, for at the beginning of the chapter he mentions "the earthly house of our tabernacle to be dissolved"; and Edwards, while making the word as employed in the passage before us refer only to the living, says of it as used in the quotation now given from the second epistle to the same Church: "It is this personal exultation at the prospect of living to the day of Christ that the Apostle corrects in the pathetic language of his second epistle, when he sees the outward man perishing, and intimates the probability of the earthly house being dissolved (comp. 2 Cor. iv. 16 to v. 10)." [1] On the whole, therefore, it would appear as if the "corruptible" of ver.

[1] On 1 Cor. xv. 53.

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53 were to be understood of those who die before the *parousia*, and the "mortal" of those who live on to that great event.

The purpose or plan of God is now regarded as fulfilled, and the Apostle hastens on to take his stand upon the field where all has been accomplished, that there, in the very presence of the apparent conquerors, he may lift up his shout of triumph. "But when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then," etc. Of the various reading here, which omits the words "this corruptible shall have put on incorruption," it is hardly necessary to speak. The sense is in no degree affected, and the conclusions of different critical editors appear to have been mainly determined by the views taken by them of the question whether the words "corruptible" and "mortal" in the previous verse refer to two different classes or to the same class. Refer them to the same class, and there is no need for both clauses; refer them to different classes, and the repetition is natural. External authority, too, is in this case in favour of the longer, rather than the shorter reading.

At the moment therefore, the Apostle now exclaims, when the great result shall have been at last attained, when those who have died shall have risen from their graves clothed with their incorruptible bodies, and when those who are alive shall have been changed, "then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory."

The quotation is from Isaiah xxv. 8, but it cannot have been taken from the LXX. as we have it, since it reads now, with an entirely different and even opposite sense, *κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας*, "death, having prevailed, swallowed up." The probability is however that there is some corruption of the text; for, thus read, the clause

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has no connexion whatever with its context. Aquila read *καταποντίσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς νῖκος*,[1] and St. Paul obviously and correctly understood the Hebrew in that sense. The prophet is describing the glories of the Messianic age,—the removal at that time of all the evils from which man suffers in his present state, the introduction of all the blessings for which he longs. Among the former is death, and therefore it is said, "He shall swallow up death for ever." The same figure is met with in 2 Corinthians v. 4, and in a connexion similar to that here supplied, "That what is mortal may be swallowed up of life" (*ἵνα καταποθῇ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς*); and again, in Hebrews xi. 29, the Egyptians are said to have been swallowed up in the Red Sea (*κατεπόθησαν*). Complete destruction is thus denoted by the word. Death shall be no more. The words *εἰς νῖκος* of the quotation are also interesting. The Hebrew represented by them is usually rendered by *εἰς νῖκος* in Greek, and by "for ever" in English: "Shall the sword devour for ever?" (2 Sam. ii. 26); "And he kept" (said of Edom) "his wrath for ever" (Amos i. 11); and it is possible that in the instance before us St. Paul understood it in this sense. No better meaning indeed could well be afforded, "Death is swallowed up for ever." Yet the recurrence of the word *νῖκος* in ver. 57, with its undeniable sense of "victory" there, seems to show that the Apostle understood it in a similar sense here. That sense is also peculiarly appropriate to the whole tone of the passage, and may even be said to be the most suitable introduction to what follows. There has been a victory; but, O Death, that victory is not thine; it is ours: and in thy destruction our victory is declared.

Then the Apostle bursts forth into his triumphant song, "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?" Again it will be observed that the readings of

[1] Turpie, *Old Testament in the New*, p. 134.

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the Textus Receptus have been departed from, but, it may be added, with universal consent. No later editor of the New Testament doubts that, on what Bishop Ellicott calls "clearly preponderating authority,"[1] the order of the clauses ought to be different from that in the Authorized Version, and that "death" ought to be substituted for "Hades" or "grave" in the second clause. "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?"

Death had seemed until now to have the victory. It had exercised its sway not only from Adam to Moses, but from Moses to the days of the Apostle. Through all the successive generations that had come and gone since the beginning of the world the tokens of its power had been seen. According to St. Paul's expression elsewhere, it had "reigned" (Rom. v. 14); *i.e.* it had not only been master of the fate of man, but it had also reigned like an unfeeling, tyrannical, and cruel king. It had spared neither age nor sex; it had cut down the nobly born not less than the humble, the powerful not less than the weak, the brightest ornaments of refined society not less than those who spread around them misery and crime. The richest, the fairest, the most highly gifted, the most loving, and the most loved had sunk into the dust at its command. Its conquest too had been complete. The eye gleaming the one moment with life and with affection was the next moment insensible to every impression that earth had been wont to make upon it; the voice that had adapted itself to every variety of human passion was hushed into a silence that no entreaty for one more utterance could break; the hand once so mobile and warm was motionless and chill. Nay, not only had there been victory on the part of death, and that victory complete, the victory had been also cruel. Taking man from this world, from all that he had valued and that had sweetened his existence,

[1] *Commentary on* 1 *Corinthians* in loc.

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it might have been thought that death would at least be gentle, if at the same time irresistible, in its sway, and that it would smooth as much as possible a passage out of life that at the best could only lead to desolation and darkness. The contrary had been the case. In the very moment of triumph death had seemed to gloat over the miseries of its victims. It had employed every form of torture to accomplish its purpose—the wounds of the battle-field, exposure on the trackless ocean, fire and hunger and thirst, excruciating pains that had so racked the body as to deprive it of one moment's rest, and slow, lingering agony, far worse for the sufferer to bear or for his friends to witness than the one final blow that in an instant might have ended all. It had listened also to no prayer, and had yielded to no effort, to delay its coming. No money had ever bribed it, no tears softened it, no despair moved it. Oh, what a victory had that of death been! The Apostle beheld it in the full comprehensiveness and mercilessness of its sweep. As he travelled back in thought through the ages of the past, there was no spot upon which he set his foot that did not sound hollow beneath him; there was no corner of the earth's surface from which the voice of a weeping that refused to be comforted did not rise.

But again he looked abroad, and all was changed. Gathered together in one vast assembly, he beheld the multitudes whom death could no more touch; one part of them risen from their graves in glorified bodies, another part so changed that they needed not to pass through the grave in order to be fit companions for those who had been "raised incorruptible." He beheld—for the unredeemed are not in his thoughts—death for them destroyed and prostrate at their feet; and he exclaims, "O death, where is thy victory?" (ver. 55*a*.)

More, however, he must say; for he remembered what a

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powerful weapon death had used to accomplish its end, and, lo! that weapon too was for ever blunted and made useless. Therefore he cries again, "O death, where is thy sting?" (ver. 55*b*.)

We must not think of this "sting" here as a goad or prick within the conscience of the sinner, troubling him in the hour when he comes to die, and, even long before that hour, whenever he does not succeed in hardening himself against it, making him all his life "subject to bondage" (Heb. ii. 15). The word may be used with this thought of a mere goad lying at its root in Acts xxvi. 14, when it was said to Saul, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goads," although even there it ought to be remembered that the goad is iron. But here it would seem, both from the context, and from the fact that St. Paul is moulding his words upon the Septuagint translation of Hosea xiii. 14, "Where, O death, is thy judgment? where, O Hades, is thy sting?" that we must understand it in its strongest sense. As such it expresses the sting of a poisonous animal like the scorpion, which carries torment that leads to death along with it (comp. Rev. ix. 10). When, accordingly, the question is asked, "O death, where is thy sting?" our attention is not directed to the human victim of death, or of the fear of death, as he recalls his transgressions and trembles in the thought of judgment, but to death itself, with its dart in its hand, first raging over the field, and then not only prostrate, but the dart fallen from its grasp and lying useless by its side.

St. Paul has been speaking figuratively, but even the figure of death with its poison-sting will hardly express all that is in his mind, and hence he hastens onward to the words of the following verse: "The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law" (ver. 56). The truths contained in these two clauses were among those upon which, in his teaching, the Apostle was most accustomed

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to dwell. We may look at them for a moment, and then at the purpose for which they are here referred to.

(*a*) "The sting of death is sin." It is the Apostle's constant lesson. When in this very chapter we read, "By man came death," and "In Adam all die" (vers. 21, 22), he obviously refers to sinful man and sinful Adam, although to have mentioned this would have diverted attention from the point then immediately in view. Still more clearly is the thought expressed in other passages: "For if by the trespass of the one death reigned through the one"; "What fruit had ye at that time in the things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of these things is death"; "The wages of sin is death" (Rom. v. 17; vi. 21, 23). The Jew felt powerfully that there was nothing more alien to the nature of God than death. God was the living God, and life was what He had appointed for man. Not indeed in the first instance necessarily perfect life; for in perfect life the spirit must be the one supreme influence, all the behests of which the body must implicitly and unresistingly obey. The condition of the body of man, even in his best estate, prevented this. At the moment of his creation, therefore, man could not stand at the highest point of the development he was designed to reach. But, if he continued obedient, there was nothing before him inconsistent with the full manifestation of God's loving will. There was thus no death before him. There was training, discipline, education, of one kind or another, by which he would have been brought nearer to the perfection for which he was designed. Only if he sinned would this training be interrupted—"In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die"—and death would then be due not to God, but to sin. Can we not sympathise with this even now? Many say that death is rest from toil, relief from trouble, freedom from pain of body and disappointment of spirit. True; but toil and trouble and pain and disappointment are as

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unnatural as death. They are its followers. "All our woe" accompanies it. How terrible, then, the sin of which it is the consequence! Not the moral evil of sin, but the dire nature of the evil that it brings on man, is in the Apostle's mind. The scorpion's sting distils no poison, inflicts no curse on man, like the poison the curse of death.

(*b*) "The strength of sin is the law." Let us compare the words of the same Apostle in another passage: "Sin is not imputed when there is no law" (Rom. v. 13). It is not of the fact that the law discovers or even provokes sin that St. Paul speaks either there or here. What he dwells upon is the thought that the law is the "strength," or rather the power, of sin. If sin be the poisoned arrow discharged from the bow of death, the force that sends the arrow home and makes it penetrate the life of man so as to bring him to the grave, is the law. St. Paul is looking at the law in all the breadth with which it embraces, in all the sharpness with which it cuts into, the human heart. He sees in it the expression of the will of God, and no one hath successfully resisted His will. Like the thunder of Sinai, he hears the twang of death's bow; like the lightning that flashed around the mountain he sees the arrow shot by death go swift and straight to its mark. "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law."

(*c*) And now what is the special purpose of these clauses? It is to bring out how great had been the victory of death, and how much greater, in consequence, the victory gained for the believer over death. We shall go wholly astray if we imagine that St. Paul is taking us into the inner chambers of the soul, and showing us that law-work there by which the law awakens the consciousness of sin, and the consciousness of sin awakens the spirit of bondage and fear. He is looking at things in a more outward way, but at the same time on a larger scale. As he does so, death is the

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first great fact by which he is arrested. He acknowledges the terror with which, in itself, as the simple dissolution of life, it inspires man. But, terrible as it was, it did not stand alone in the war it had never ceased to wage, in the victories which, until met by One stronger, it had never ceased to win. It was backed by an earlier enemy, sin; and sin again was backed by that holy law of God, with its voice of condemnation most fitly expressed by winds that rend the mountains, by fire, and thunder, and earthquake. Death, sin, the law! The three go together, and cannot be separated from one another. But for sin there would have been no death: but for law there would have been no power in sin to kill. Law brings sin to its bar, and with all the force of a Divine majesty compels it to condemn its own worshippers. Sin commits the execution of the sentence to death, and death is the penalty the sinner pays. What a victory would have been the victory of death could death have made it sure! What a monument would death have reared!—the desolation caused by the violation of the law of God the pedestal of the pillar; out of it sin rising rampant and spreading everywhere; on the top death crowned with triumph.

But victory is not given to death. Even over so great a foe it is given to believers: "But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (ver. 57). If we ask, What is meant by the description, "our Lord Jesus Christ"? it would seem as if the answer were at hand. The humiliation and death of the Redeemer are included. They belong to the appellation, "Jesus Christ": "Jesus," the human name; "Christ," the anointed One, the Saviour commissioned and qualified by the Father for His work of suffering and death on behalf of man. But the resurrection and eternal life at the right hand of God are also included. They belong to the appellation, "Lord." And this last comes first, because St.

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Paul had been called to the apostleship in a manner different from that of the other members of the apostolic band. He had not, like them, been first brought to faith by companionship with his Lord's earthly life. He had first believed in the risen and glorified Lord. Let the following words of Dr. Matheson, in his eloquent and deeply interesting work on *The Spiritual Development of St. Paul*, illustrate this:

"But to my mind the passage on this subject which of all others most trenchantly illustrates Paul's position is his remarkable aspiration contained in his letter to the Church of Philippi: 'That I may know Him, and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings.' I have called it a remarkable aspiration, because it seems to invert the natural order. Why did not Paul say, 'that I may know Him, and the fellowship of His sufferings, and the power of His resurrection'? Is not this the historical arrangement in which the events of the life of Jesus actually presented themselves? Undoubtedly it is. But it is not the order in which the events of the life of Jesus presented themselves to Paul's experience; that which was last, to him came first. The passage has a biographical ring in it. It tells us that Christ had come to the man of Tarsus in the inverted order of His own life. To the primitive disciples the Christian revelation had presented itself in its natural and historical order: first the Man; then the fellowship with His sufferings; and, last of all, the power of His resurrection. To Paul the Christian revelation presented itself in exactly the opposite arrangement; it began with the crown, and it went back to the cross. Paul's vision rested first of all on that which was supernatural and superhuman, and he had thence to retrace His steps into that which was earthly and historical; he began with the 'power of the resurrection,' he passed next into 'fellowship with the sufferings,' and he ended with the recognition of that which identified Christ with humanity. His spiritual life was in one sense a progress from Damascus to Galilee; it had to find its terminus where that of Peter and John had found its beginning. Its goal was to be the discovery of that perfect bond of humanity which bound the heart of the disciple to the heart of the Master; and in reaching that discovery it attained the completion of its journey precisely where the first apostles had begun" (p. 41).

Once more: the word "our" brings out the personal appropriation of Christ in the unity of faith. In the back-

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ground, therefore, of the Apostle's thoughts it may be said that there lies the idea of a complete redemption; but only in the background. The main thought is still, as it has all along been, victory over death. To that victory it may be said that every element of redemption in its widest sense belongs. Death is the highest expression of man's "corruption," "dishonour," and "weakness." We behold in it the most striking token of his defeat and fall. Victory over it thus includes victory over everything that brings condemnation, or degradation, or misery. Death is the "last" enemy. When it has been bound, banished, destroyed, there has been given us a victory over every other spiritual foe, and not over it alone.

The Christian victory is won. Before we part from it, let us fix our minds a little more fully upon the thought that it is a "*victory*" of which St. Paul has spoken. The Christian, if he must die, enters the valley of the shadow of death, not as one who is submitting to the inevitable, but as a conqueror. Most men can submit in their last hours to God, and can lie down to die without trying to rebel against the strong hand which has them in its grasp with a power that they would vainly endeavour to shake off. "When a man," it has been said, "feels that there is no help, and he must go, he lays him down to die as quietly as a tired traveller wraps himself in his cloak to sleep."[1] That is not victory; it is defeat. It is the weaker yielding to the stronger. It is saying, "O death, thou hast conquered at last: do thy worst, I contend no more." Such is not the position of the Christian as here contemplated. With him rather the victory remains. "All things" are his, and among these "death" is his (1 Cor. iii. 22).

Now therefore we may adopt the practical conclusion added by St. Paul to everything he had said: "Where-

[1] Robertson, *Sermons*, vol. iii.

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fore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, inasmuch as ye know that your labour is not vain in the Lord" (ver. 58). It is unnecessary to suppose, as has been sometimes done, that the first two expressions met with in these words, "steadfast" and "unmovable," refer to doctrine, the third, "abounding," to active exertion, as if the words "in the work of the Lord" were to be connected only with the one mentioned last. Had the Apostle intended this difference, he would undoubtedly have brought it out more clearly. But there was no need to direct our thoughts to any such distinction between belief and practice. To St. Paul's mind the two constituted one whole. There could be no genuine belief which was not followed by corresponding practice. There could be no Christian practice which did not rest upon the facts of the person and the life of Christ. Doctrine is as distinctly implied in the mention of "the work of the Lord" as though it had been expressly named. To be "steadfast" and "unmovable" in good works is as much required of the Christian as to display these qualities in regard to doctrine; while to be "abounding" in our love and appreciation of doctrine is as necessary as to be abounding in work. In these circumstances it seems best to connect all the three adjectives with the same subject, "the work of the Lord."

All of them express ideas of their own. "Steadfast" connects itself with the thought of a building reared upon a good foundation, a building settled and firm (comp. Col. i. 23). "Unmovable" connects itself with the thought of movement occasioned by outward causes—storms or earthquakes in the case of a building, heresies or temptations of any kind in the case of Christian men (comp. Col. i. 23). "Abounding," again, reminds us that our Christian life is not to be a stunted growth; that the Christian does not ask himself how little, but how much

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he can do for the Lord who has redeemed him by His blood; and that, forgetting the things that are behind, he constantly presses onward to those that are before. This last note of their high calling is that in which the followers of Jesus are even more apt to fail than in either steadfastness or unmovableness; and therein may lie the reason why the Apostle gives it peculiar emphasis by placing the word "always" before it. Certainly for no part of their life do Christians stand more in need of the voice of exhortation. They fail to think enough, not simply of "the blessing of the gospel of Christ," but of "the fulness" of its blessing (Rom. xv. 29). Into the depths of the love which has been revealed to them they do not seek to penetrate. To the heights of the glory to which they may be brought they make no effort to ascend. With the boundless treasures that are before them they do not care to be enriched. They have passed, it may be, the line which separates death from life and hell from heaven. They are out of the wilderness, delivered from its trials; and there, therefore, they will rest from their labours. The pleasant land that is before them they will explore no further; and already, on this side of Jordan, they would pitch their tents, and be at peace.

Nor is this spirit less apt to display itself in relation to the duties than in relation to the privileges of the Christian life. Too often in Christian living, even when thoroughly sincere, there is a want of largeness of heart, of freedom of spirit, of those ever loftier flights with which they that wait upon the Lord ought like eagles to mount into the air (Isa. xl. 31). One would think that the spirit of the Old Testament must in this respect have been not unfrequently higher than ours. We too seldom speak of "running" the way of God's commandments, when He shall "enlarge" our hearts (Ps. cxix. 32). We too seldom hear the song: "O Lord, truly I am Thy

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servant: I am Thy servant, the son of thine handmaid Thou hast loosed my bonds. I will offer to Thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord. . . . Praise ye the Lord" (Ps. cxvi. 16, 17, 19). Perhaps it is not difficult to explain why it should be so. The Israelite of old dwelt in the presence of God, although that God was less fully revealed to him than to us in the more attractive features of His character. God was in the midst of Israel. The devout Jew could always lift his eyes to the temple on Mount Moriah and sing, "In Salem also is His tabernacle, and His dwelling-place in Zion" (Ps. lxxvi. 2). He knew that his Friend, his Protector, his Shield in the day of battle, his Tower of defence against any besieging foe, was always at hand, and ready to deliver him. His spirits, therefore, could always rise in adversity, and he could "abound in hope." Christian men often fail to have this deep sense of the immediate presence of their Father and Redeemer. Their minds are occupied with the process by which the work of their redemption was carried through at the time when Jesus was on earth. They accompany Him who loved them and gave Himself for them to the successive scenes of toil and suffering and agony and death through which He passed when He tabernacled in the flesh. They go in search of Him, and do not sufficiently realize that He has come, and that He is always coming, in search of them. Their Christian graces and privileges are not nourished, to the extent at least that they ought to be, by the light of the countenance of a present and a living Lord.

It is quite otherwise with the New Testament itself, and with the displays of feeling that are brought under our notice there. In particular, that we may keep close to the passage which we are now considering, it is so with St. Paul in the words before us. The work "of the Lord" he says, and again he speaks of labour not vain "in the

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Lord"; and there cannot be a moment's doubt that by "the Lord," thus twice mentioned, he means Jesus Christ, not merely in His earthly life, but in His exalted and heavenly life. That glorified Lord was continually by His people's side, knowing them, sympathising with them, making His grace sufficient for them, and perfecting His strength in their weakness. Therefore might they always be steadfast, always be unmovable, always abound. He that was with them was far more than all that could be against them.

Finally, also, they might look beyond this present scene, when everything they had toiled or suffered for here would bring with it its own reward. It is not a merely general reward of which St. Paul speaks, one that may be valuable in itself, but may have no correspondence to the labours previously undergone, or no intimate bond of connexion with them. The word used by him for "vain" is that used in ver. 14 of this chapter (κενός), and distinct in meaning from that translated by the same English term in ver. 17. It expresses not only what is vain, in that it comes to naught and produces no result, but what is in itself empty and void. That therefore which is not "vain" or "void" is that which is full, rich in substance, pregnant with results. And such is the Christian "labour" to which St. Paul refers. To the eye of the world it may seem vain. These labours for the good of others who often neither think of them nor value them when known; these self-denials and self-sacrifices to bring about, though it may be on a narrow field, a better time for the poor, the criminal, or the sorrowing; these struggles in the distant recesses of the soul and in the private chamber to rise above the world, and to gain in larger measure the spirit of that heavenly and Divine Master whom he follows, but of whom he continually falls so far short; these renouncings of earthly pleasures which he might enjoy, and of earthly

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riches and honours which he might gain,—all these may seem to those around the believer the outcome of a fantastic imagination or of fevered dreams. Is it possible to say that they would be more than this were there no hereafter, were there nothing but the grave before us at the end of thankless and not unfrequently disappointing toil, were there no resurrection of the dead? But they assume a new character in the light of the eternal world, and of the resurrection of Him who died for us, and rose again that we, having partaken of His spirit, may also share His glory. They are the labours of the seedtime, to be followed by an abundant harvest. They are the battle to be crowned with victory, the race to be ended at a glorious goal, the voyage over stormy seas that the ship may reach a more smiling land, and may enter an eternal haven. Even while they are endured they are full of promise and of hope, and along with each is given a foretaste of the coming blessedness. The heart rises above everything that would otherwise weaken or discourage it. We may be counted fools for Christ's sake; but in Him our weakness is strength, our tears are smiles, our sorrow is joy. "It is God that justifieth; who is he that shall condemn? it is Christ Jesus that died, yea rather, that was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us"; "Let us not be weary in well-doing"; "Our labour is not void in the Lord."

W. MILLIGAN.

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THE ARAMAIC GOSPEL.

The Galilæan Dialect.

All candid minds must readily admit that our argument is cumulative; and in such an argument the convergence of the lines of proof is a matter of vital importance. For instance, when it is ascertained by purely internal evidence that many of the divergences in the Synoptic Gospels are traceable to a variant rendering of the same or a closely similar Aramaic text, and when we turn to the Church Fathers, and find there abundant and unfaltering testimony that the earliest Gospel was written by Matthew Ἑβραΐστι, which word in the New Testament always means "in Aramaic"—we have there *convergence of proof*. But further, Matthew was a Galilæan, and internal evidence shows that the Aramaic substratum did not extend much beyond the limits of the Galilæan ministry. The question then occurs, did Matthew's work possess any of the peculiarities of the Galilæan dialect? If we can show that this primitive record of the Galilæan ministry, written by a Galilæan, presents numerous dialectical peculiarities, we shall have a remarkable accumulation of evidence: the triple threads making an unbreakable cord.

We know from the record of Peter's denial that there was a clear difference between the Aramaic spoken in Galilee and that spoken in Jerusalem. Notwithstanding Peter's attempt to allay suspicion by engaging in conversation, he could not conceal his native dialect. The metropolitans came down on the luckless provincial then, as so often since, with the awkward charge, "Thy speech bewrayeth thee."

What were the provincialisms by which Peter was detected? We have three sources of information as to the

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peculiarities of the language spoken in the more northerly districts of Palestine. (1) The anecdotes, perhaps caricatures, of Galilæan dialect, found in the Babylonian Talmud. (2) The discussions by rabbis who were natives of Galilee contained in the Palestinian Talmud. (3) The Samaritan Targum. This is confessedly a very ancient production, though its exact date is disputed. Walton holds that it cannot be placed long posterior to the erection of the temple on Mount Gerizim, because the need of a translation from the Hebrew would be imperative, as soon as regular worship was established. The Samaritans assign its composition to the priest Nathaniel, who died about 20 B.C.; while Gesenius fixes it in the first Christian century.

These three sources of information agree singularly in presenting the same features of dialectical peculiarity:

1. An indistinct pronunciation of the gutturals.
2. A confusion of cognate consonants.
3. An elision of the gutturals, and a disposition to run two or more words together.

The first two of these will now engage our attention. The third will be considered at some future time.

The Babylonian Talmud gives some amusing anecdotes of the provincialisms of Galilæans, which are collected in Buxtorf's Lexicon. We are told, *e.g.*, that a Galilæan who was a buyer of old clothes, etc., went about crying, אמר למאן אכר למאן, Who has any *'mar* to sell? Whereupon the people said to him, What do you want? Do you want an ass, חֲמָר, to ride upon; or wine, חֲמַר, to drink; or wool, עֲמַר, for clothing; or a sheep-skin, אֲמַר, for covering? Dr. B. Fischer, in the supplementary matter which he has furnished to Winer's *Chaldäische Grammatik*, also gives a funny story from the same Talmud, of a Galilæan who was lowering a table by a rope into the street from an upper floor. He fastened the rope so that the feet of the table were a short distance from the ground, and while he was

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coming downstairs, a man outside cut the rope, and ran off with the table. The Galilæan sent his wife to report the theft, and the man to whom she reported it understood her to call him a silly man whom a heretic stole and carried off, with his feet scarcely touching the ground. The changes due to dialect which caused the woman to be so grievously misunderstood are these: ב was sounded as פ, ק as כ, ה and ה as כ, and ט as ת. We have also the coalescence of one or two distinct words.

Dr. Neubauer maintains that the Palestinian Talmud represents most closely the language in which the Saviour spoke, and that "if any attempt be made to translate New Testament texts into their original idiom, the type of Aramaic there represented should be chosen for the purpose." He speaks of its provincialisms thus: "The gutturals are constantly interchanged. ע is written for ח, א for ה, which is thus often not pronounced at all. Very often the א and ה are omitted. The labial letters are pronounced more softly than in the Babylonian Talmud. Instead of ב and פ they use *va*; for מ the Galilæan rabbis have often *b*. For כ we find ג; even ל and נ are interchanged, and two words are often united into one."[1] I have been asked repeatedly why I have not fully adopted Dr. Neubauer's theory. In reply I may briefly say that the difference between us is but slight. We both agree that Jesus spoke Aramaic, that if His words were committed to writing, Aramaic would be the language employed, and that the document recording His discourses would contain features peculiar to the more northerly dialects of Palestine.

I wish now briefly to indicate for what reasons, and to what extent, I have been led to believe that the *Logia* resembled the Samaritan Targum. (1) Our method of procedure has been inductive. At the outset we were uncertain whether the original language might prove to be

[1] *Studi Biblica*, vol. i., pp. 61, 62.

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Hebrew, as Dr. Delitzsch believed, or Aramaic, as is maintained by Dr. Neubauer; but we were very soon obliged to discard the Hebrew, as our identifications could only be effected by Aramaic words. In most cases these words are common to all the Targums, but by-and-by we noticed a decided leaning to words found only in the Palestinian Targum. We have not as yet made use of any *words* found only in Samaritan, but have noted that the assumption of the peculiarities of dialect, and especially of spelling, which occur in the Samaritan Targum enable us, in numerous instances, to explain divergences in the Gospels. We have *not yet* noticed that the assumption of peculiarities special to the Palestinian Talmud helps us in our researches. (2) The inhabitants of Samaria and Galilee were one nation—Israel as distinct from Judah. The whole northern kingdom was known to the Assyrians as Samaria, or the land of the house of Omri, and the immigrants whom they sent would in all probability occupy the whole district more or less. Thus though the peoples of Samaria and Galilee were in Christ's time divided for purposes of administration, and to some extent by religion, and though the mongrel character of the immigration would cause the survival of foreign words in some localities which were not known in others, there was the closest affinity between the Galilæans and Samaritans in respect of language. (3) It is very probable that the Samaritan Targum existed in written form during the lifetime of Jesus, and thus it is a contemporary record of what an inhabitant of Jerusalem would regard as north country dialect; whereas the Palestinian Talmud would not be committed to writing until perhaps 300 years later. (4) If the *Logia* and the Samaritan Targum were written in the same half-century, they present us the Aramaic language at the *same stage of literary development*, and we may expect the same want of fixity as to orthography in

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both. (5) Granted that the disputations given in the Palestinian Talmud are those of Galilæan rabbis, some of whom lived in the first century, and that we have thus a specimen of Galilæan dialect, would even the tenacious memories of rabbis transmit dialectical peculiarities accurately through several centuries? Would not the dialect in which this Talmud was written be nearer that of the fourth century than that of the first? We have no wish, however, to be obstinate on the point. The matter is one to be decided by internal evidence. Let both be tested, and let the dialect which best explains the divergences of the synoptic Gospels be voted to be the one in which the *Logia* was written.

The difference between Dr. Neubauer and myself is practically reduced to a minimum, so far as this present paper is concerned, because I intend to confine myself to dialectical modes of pronunciation and spelling rather than of vocabulary, and in these respects there is little difference between the Palestinian Talmud and the Samaritan Targum. In reading this latter work, I have carefully marked and afterwards classified all the deviations which are idiomatic. This is scarcely the place to exhibit the full results of our investigations, but a few of the more striking features may be noticed.

1. Indistinct pronunciation of the gutturals. Each of the gutturals א, ה, ח, and ע is used instead of the others; the most frequent anomaly being that of ע for ח. Dr. Petermann says that the modern Samaritans do not pronounce the gutturals at all, but it is doubtful whether this has always been the case. When שמע is sometimes spelt שמק and מחה, מחק; and when in the story from the Babylonian Talmud, a Galilæan's ה sounded like כ, we seem to have evidence that in ancient times they pronounced the gutturals carelessly or indistinctly, rather than that they did not pronounce them at all. We will now adduce

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several instances from the Samaritan Targum illustrating the indistinctness of pronunciation, and also the want of fixity in the orthography; reminding us of the eight ways in which Tyndall's Bible spells the word "it": and, as being the more curious, we will confine ourselves to cases where the same word is differently spelt in the same immediate connexion.

עמרה, wine,	Gen. ix. 21,	is written חמרה, ver. 24.
אמאר, sheep,	Num. xxviii. 7,	חמאר, vers. 3 and 8.
עקר, he fled,	Gen. xxxi. 21,	אקר, ver. 20.
לא, not,	Gen. xviii. 15,	לה, same verse.
מסחן, owner,	Exod. xxi. 28,	מסהן, ver. 22.
דהק, he took away,	Gen. xxxi. 18,	דעק, ver. 26.
ענל, he looked,	Gen. xii. 14,	חנל, ver. 12.
עללא, heaven,	Gen. i. 26,	חללה, ver. 28.
שלח, he sent,	Num. xx. 26,	ישלע, ver. 28.
מחא, he smote,	Exod. vii. 20,	מעא, ver. 17.
חבר, neighbour,	Deut. xv. 2,	עבר, same verse.

2. Transmutation of cognate consonants. The most common case is that of the sibilants. This is indeed an old northern provincialism. It was by their pronunciation of שִׁבֹּלֶת, shibboleth, as סִבֹּלֶת, sibboleth, that Jephthah determined who of the fugitives were Ephraimites (Jud. xii. 6). So we have in the Samaritan Targum, אסה, a wife; סלח, he sent; סבע, seven; סבר, he hoped; סכן, he dwelt, occurring along with the corresponding form in ש. This occurs even in the same connexion.

רמש, to creep,	Gen. vii. 14,	is written רמס, same verse.
שני, years,	Gen. xxiii. 1,	סנין, „ „
באר שבע, Beer-sheba,	Gen. xxi. 32,	באר סבע, ver. 31.
מסחן, owner,	Exod. xxii. 15,	משחן, ver. 12.

We might show how ת interchanges with ש, ד with ז, ט with צ; but the most remarkable transmutation is that of ב and ו, which occurs some hundreds of times, and seems to imply that ב = *b* had the soft sound of ו. When ו has a daghesh forte, it is almost always written ב, to distinguish

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it from ו, the sign of "o" or "u." It is remarkable to find in our Targum such forms as חזבא for חֶזְוָא = vision; צבאר for צַוָּאר = neck; and זיב for זִיו = skin: but much more so to find חזב for חֵזוּ = appearance; so Genesis xii. 12, xxiv. 16, and לבח for לוּחַ = a table. We will add other illustrations as before.

טוּרָא, mountain,	Exod. xix. 25,	is written טברא, ver. 18.
לוּט, curse,	Num. xxiii. 7,	לבט, ver. 8.
בֵּנוֹ, among,	Gen. xxiii. 10,	בנב, vers. 6 and 9.
שְׁוָה, to appoint,	Deut. xxii. 17,	שבה, ver. 14.

The word חֲוִי = he told, is usually spelt חבי, though in many cases we have a further deviation, and find הבי = he told; as in Genesis xxix. 19, Exodus iii. 3, 9.

The converse reading of ו for ב is much more rare, but we have הוי for הבי = give, Genesis xxx. 14; and שוי for שבי = I pray thee, Genesis xxxiii. 11.

And now we wish to show how the assumption of these dialectic forms in the Aramaic MSS. of the Gospel explains numerous instances of divergence in our synoptic Gospels.

I. The Gutturals.

1. We would briefly allude to two cases which have already come under our notice.

Luke ix. 39:	καὶ μόγις ἀποχωρεῖ	שרק בעניז
Mark ix. 18:	καὶ τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας	חרק בשניז

The letters ח and ע are interchanged on every page of the Samaritan Targum; usually, though, ע stands for ח. In most cases no uncertainty arises; but if, in the *Logia*, ערק occurred for חרק, it would naturally suggest to a translator the idea of "departing," "fleeing away," rather than of "grinding the teeth."

2. Equally striking is the instance we gave in our last paper.

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Mark iii. 5: They took counsel how they might *destroy* Him.
Luke vi. 11: They conversed what they should *do* to Him.

Mark=אתמלכו דיאבדון לה.
Luke=אתמללו דיעבדון לה.

3. In the narrative of our Lord's baptism we have two slightly variant expressions as to what occurred as Christ was being raised from the water after immersion.

Matt. iii. 16: And, lo, the heavens were opened (*ἀνεῴχθησαν*).
Mark i. 10: And he saw the heavens rent asunder (*σχιζομένους*).

We would ask, if it can be a mere casual coincidence that the verb to open is פצא; and the verb to cleave, rend asunder, is פצע. The verb פצע occurs in the Palestinian Targum of Genesis xxii. 3, of Abraham cleaving the wood (LXX. *σχίσας*), and Judges v. 26, of the tent-peg with which Jael clove asunder the skull of Sisera; while פצא is used in Syriac and Targumic Aramaic of opening the mouth, or the formation of an orifice like the mouth.

Further, the word lo! *ecce!* is חֲזִי—the imperative used as an interjection, as in Genesis xxvii. 27, Lo! the smell of my son is as the smell of a field; and this imperative is identical in form with the Perfect Peal, "he saw," and therefore the only difference in Aramaic, in the phrases before us, is this:

וחזי שמיא מתפצין
וחזי שמיא מתפצען

4. We would now mention a case to which we alluded in our March paper without offering a satisfactory solution. A kind friend has suggested the following, which we gratefully adopt:

Mark v. 16: *πῶς ἐγένετο τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ.*
Luke viii. 36: *πῶς ἐσώθη ὁ δαιμονισθείς.*

The equivalent of *ἐγένετο* is הוא or הוי, while the verb "to save," to restore to life, or health, or sanity, whether

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mental or spiritual, is חֵיֵי. This meaning is not frequent in the Targums, but it is the constant word for *σώζω* in the Syriac New Testament, and hence may well have been current in this sense among the Galilæan apostles.

Mark=איך הוי לנברא דשידיא
How it happened to the demoniac (the man of demons).
Luke=איך חיי לנברא דשידיא
How He (Christ) saved the demoniac.

5. Our next illustration shall be drawn from our Lord's words, announcing the suddenness of His advent, when one shall be taken, and the other left.

Matt. xxiv. 41: *Δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐν τῷ μύλωνι.*
Two women (shall be) grinding in the mill.
Luke xvii. 35: *Δύο ἔσονται ἀλήθουσαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.*
Two women shall be grinding together.

Now the word for "mill," threshing-floor, or place where the corn is ground, is אִדְּרָא. It is used of the place where Boaz was winnowing barley, Ruth iii. 2; and of the place where Ornan was threshing wheat when he saw the angel, 1 Chron. xxi. 22. And the word for "together," "simul," *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, is בַּהֲדָא, which of course is very easily confusible with באדרא. It is true that the form בהדא belongs rather to New-Hebrew than to the Targums; but, as we have said, this is what we are prepared for in Luke.

6. In the account of the Gadarene demoniac, when our Lord was landing on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, we read respecting the poor man:

Mark v. 6: *Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν.*
Having seen Jesus from afar.
Luke viii. 28: *Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνακράξας.*
Having seen Jesus, having cried aloud.

The Aramaic equivalent of *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν* is מֵהַלָּא; of *ἀνακράξας*, מַכְלָא, Aphel participle of כְּלָא, to roar or shout.

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When used of men, it denotes the alarmed or distressed cry of an individual rather than a multitude.

Zeph. ii. 15: Whosoever passeth by shall cry out and wring his hands.
Micah vi. 9: The voice of the prophets of Jehovah crieth aloud unto the city.
Joel iii. 16: Jehovah shall shout (LXX. *ἀνακράξεται*) from Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem.

The difference in an unvocalized text is that of ה and כ, מהלא and מכלא. The occurrence of *κράξας*, a little farther on in Mark, we shall presently claim as a conflate reading.

By means of the adverb just quoted, or a closely allied form, we would now explain what has often been felt a difficulty in this threefold narrative of the Gadarene. Matthew viii. 30 says that there was *afar off* from them (*μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν*) a herd of swine feeding. Mark v. 11 and Luke viii. 32 say that it was *there* (*ἐκεῖ*). But we have a word לְהָלָן, which means "afar off," and also "there," "thither," "ibi," "illuc": only that the meaning "there" belongs rather to New-Hebrew than to Aramaic.

II. The Sibilants.

7. Our first instance of confusion among the sibilants shall be taken from the passage to which we referred in our last paper, as to the hiding of the lamp, where there is a slight divergence as to whether it is "under the bed" or "under the bushel."

Matt. v. 15: *ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον*, under the bushel.
Luke viii. 16: *ὑποκάτω κλίνης*, under a bed.
Luke xi. 33: *ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον*, under the bushel.
Mark iv. 21: *ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην*, under the bushel or under the bed.

When we find that the word for *μόδιος* is סָאָה, which in the Palestinian dialect became סָוָא, and when we know that one of the words for "a bed" is שַׁוְיָא, and when we know further the readiness with which ס and ש change

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places in a document contemporary with the *Logia*, we surmise that we have a duplicate rendering of one Aramaic word, probably סְוָא, and that in Mark we have a doublet. The word שְׁוָיָא denotes not the pallet found in the houses of the poor, but a wooden structure, a couch or bedstead, as of course the context requires, if a lamp is to be placed under it. We have the word שְׁוָיָא in the Targums, respecting the bed of Og king of Bashan (Deut. iii. 11): the couch on which, according to the Targum, Saul reclined at the feast from which David was absent (1 Sam. xx. 25); and the couches (Heb. garments) received in pledge from their debtors, upon which the wealthy reclined around the altars of heathen deities, carousing, as was their wont (Amos ii. 8). There can be no reasonable doubt that the divergence in our Gospels has arisen from the close resemblance of סוא or שוא and שויא.

8. On two occasions in the synoptists we have the verb "to find" standing in parallelism with the verb "to see," and we would explain this by a confusion of ש and ס.

Mark v. 15: They *beheld* the demonized one sitting, clothed, etc.
Luke viii. 35: They *found* the man from whom the demons had gone out, sitting, clothed, etc.

What difference exists in Aramaic between "they beheld, looked at," *θεωροῦσι*, and *εὗρον*, "they found"? A very slight one when the style of spelling in the Samaritan Targum is considered. The verb to find is שְׁכַח or אַשְׁכַּח, Peal or Aphel. In the Jewish Targums the Aphel is more frequent, but in Samaritan the Peal of שכח, spelt שקח or שקע, is equally common. Further, the verb, to look at, gaze at, see, is סְכָא. It occurs, for instance,

Num. xxiv. 17: I have seen him, but not now; I have *beheld* him, but he is not near. When a king shall arise from Jacob, and the Messiah shall magnify Himself from Israel, He shall smite, etc.
Job xxiv. 18: He beholdeth not the path of the vineyard.

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When we know the readiness with which ש and ס change places, even in the same verse, as we have seen, and how easily the gutturals interchange, it would be the easiest thing possible for שכח and סכא to be so written as to be undistinguishable from each other.

9. The second instance occurs in the narrative of the Transfiguration. After the disciples, overwhelmed with awe, had watched the heavenly visitants enter the cloud, we read in Matthew and Mark that "they *saw* Jesus only" (*εἶδον τὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον*): whereas Luke says, "Jesus *was found* alone." The passive of the verb "to find" is אִשְׁתְּכַח; but this passive stands in parallelism with an active form, "they saw." Does that yield to our hypothesis? Exactly; for the Ithpeal of the verb סְכָא is more common in an active sense than the Peal itself.

1 Sam. xvii. 42: The Philistine *looked* (אִסְתְּכִי) and saw David.
Exod. iii. 6, J.: He (Moses) was afraid to look at the glory of the Shekinah of the Lord.
Genesis xv. 5: Look (אִסְתְּכִי) now unto heaven.

It is evident that "they saw," or "beheld" = אִסְתְּכוּ, while "was found" is אשתְּכַח, which might be written אִסְתְּכַח.

10. As elucidated by an interchange of sibilants, we would now quote two similar passages in which the Saviour reminds those around Him that the disciple is not above his teacher:

Matthew x. 25: It is sufficient for the disciple that he become as his teacher.
Luke vi. 40: When perfected, every (disciple) shall be as his teacher.

The contrast is between *ἀρκετόν* = it is sufficient, and *κατηρτισμένος* = perfected, brought to maturity, having "completed his education." It is striking how nearly alike these words are in the original language as spoken by Christ. The verb to *complete* is שְׁיֵצִיא. It occurs in Genesis ii. 2

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of the completion of the work of creation; Exodus xl. 32, of the completion of the construction of the tabernacle; and 2 Chronicles viii. 16, of the completion of Solomon's temple; while the verb *καταρτίζω* occurs seven times in the Greek scriptures of the book of Ezra, respecting the completion of the various parts of the second temple. These two verbs are then clearly equivalent. As for *ἀρκετόν* = sufficient, the Aramaic word is מְסַתְּיָא. Its construction is peculiar; it takes suffixes of the person for whom a thing is sufficient. It is sufficient for thee = מסתיך, for him = מסתיה.

Job vi. 7: My soul refuses to touch them; they make me sickly they are enough for my meal.

Num. xii. 14: But it shall be sufficient for her (מְסַתְּיָה) that she (Miriam) be shut out of the camp seven days.

Remembering that the passive participle *κατηρτισμένος* requires the passive participle of שיציא, we obtain for the divergent Greek phrases:

Matthew: מְסַתְּיֵה דיהוי תלמידא כמליפה.
Luke: מְשַׁתֵּיצֵי יהוי תלמידא כמליפה.

11. One more case of this description. It is from the parable of the grain of mustard seed, which, though very small, grows into a tree:

Matt. xiii. 32: So that the birds *come* and lodge.
Mark iv. 32: So that the birds *are able* to lodge.

One verb, meaning "to come" is אתא, and מצא means to find, to find means how to do a thing, to be able. The verb מצא would be singularly appropriate here. The birds find (room) to lodge, are able to lodge.

The use of מְצָא and אַשְׁכַּח, both of which mean "to find," in the sense "to be able," is illustrated in two other New Testament passages:

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Luke v. 19: Μὴ εὑρόντες ποίας εἰσενέγκωσιν αὐτόν.
Not *finding* how they might bring him in.
Mark ii. 4: Μὴ δυνάμενοι προσεγγίσαι αὐτῷ.
Not *being able* to come near to him.

So Luke vi. 7: ἵνα εὕρωσι κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.
That they might *find*, i.e. *be able*, to accuse him.

III. Interchange of ב and ו.

12. We pass on now to an exceptionally interesting group of instances in which the confusion lies in the free use of ב and ו. The word for "graves," "tombs," is קבריא. The word for "the city," in the Palestinian and Samaritan Targums, is קוריָא. Now, if the scribe of the *Logia* wrote ב for ו, as is done often on every page of the Samaritan Targum, "the city" and "the tombs" would alike be קבריא. So we are quite prepared to find in the narrative of the Gadarene demoniac:

Mark v. 2: A man met him from the *tombs*.
Luke viii. 27: A man met him from the *city*.

13. In the description of the storm which occurred on the Sea of Galilee, we have the following variants:

Matt. viii. 24: σεισμὸς μέγας, a great storm.
Luke viii. 23: λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου, a storm of wind.
Mark iv. 37: λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου μεγάλη, a great storm of wind.

Clearly σεισμός and λαῖλαψ are synonyms, and may well stand for the Aramaic זַעֲפָא. Our theory demands that we should prove the close resemblance in Aramaic between "great" and "wind." Now the word for "wind" is רוּח or רוּחָא, which, like טבר for טור = a mountain, and לבח for לחח = a table, might be written רבחא; and the feminine of רַב is רַבְתָּא. We have the very phrase in Job i. 19: "There came a *great storm* (זַעֲפָא רַבְתָּא) from the wilderness"; so that

a great storm = זעפא רבתא
a storm of wind = זעף רבחא

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We note again that the transcriber of Mark, cognisant of the various reading in the MSS. of the Aramaic Gospel, adopts the naïve plan of inserting both readings, "a great storm of wind."

14. While the Saviour was present at the feast in the house of Matthew, the Pharisees came to the disciples and put to them the following question:

Matthew ix. 11.	Mark ii. 16.	Luke v. 30.
διὰ τί	τί ὅτι	διὰ τί
μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν	μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν	μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν
καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν	καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν	καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν
ἐσθίει	ἐσθίει	ἐσθίετε
ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν;	καὶ πίνει;	καὶ πίνετε;

On the last line the variants are "your Teacher," "He drinks," "ye drink." "The Master or Teacher" is רַבָּא; "your teacher" is רַבְּכוֹן. The verb "to drink," in the sense intended by the spiteful Pharisees, is רַוָּא. But *vav*, with a Daghesh forte, is almost invariably written ב in the Samaritan Targum; therefore "He drinks" would be רבא, which is identical in form with "the Master." "Ye drink" = רביתון, or possibly רביכון; so that the members of the last line, unlike as they seem in Greek, are singularly alike in Aramaic.

15. In the narrative of the woman who was healed while the Saviour was on His way to the house of Jairus, we have the following divergent phrases:

Mark v. 33: εἰδυῖα ὃ γέγονεν αὐτῇ.
Knowing what was done to her.
Luke viii. 47: ἰδοῦσα ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαθε.
Seeing that she was not hid.

The verb "to be," הוא, is used in Ithpael, אִתְהַוִי, *i.e.* אתהבי, with the meaning *fieri*, *effici*, to be done, effected—precisely the force of γέγονεν in our text. But the verb "to hide" is חבא, which, in the Targums, only occurs in

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the Ithpael, אִתְחַבִּי; *e.g.* Genesis vii. 19, The mountains were hidden (אִתְחַבִּיאוּ). The difference between ἔλαθε and γέγονεν is thus very slight. We have seen that the negative לָא = not, is in the same verse written לה and לא, while αὐτῇ = to her, is לָהּ. The form דִּי is the conjunction "that"; and also = *id quod*, that which; so that the divergence in Greek almost vanishes in Aramaic.

Mark: ידעא די לה תתהוי or תתהבי.
Luke: ידעא די לא תתחבי.

There are a few other cases which we had intended to introduce, but they must remain over for the present.

J. T. MARSHALL.

THE HUMAN SPLENDOURS,

OUR LORD'S THIRD TEMPTATION.

IN the polemic of the Bread Problem our Lord has related Himself to the ruling physical want of man; in the polemic of the Hebrew Problem to that elect race and its acquisitions. In the third discussion, He relates Himself to the world outside the Hebrew, and to the ruling moral want.

The splendours of human nature, in Greek, Roman, and Barbarian contents pass before Him, and originate the final inspections. Christ assumes in baptism also the direction of nations outside the Hebrew bounds. He is to awake a new spirituality, compose a new epoch, appropriate the essences of Greek and Roman and Teutonic antiquity, keep the human splendours from sinking into night. A deviation is suggested from the original plan entrusted to Him, into which, as into a last paradise, the spirit of divergence withdraws.

We shall arrive at some understanding of this last study by keeping close to the picture which the Literary Artist has drawn for us.

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Christ is seated on the summit of a very high mountain. Into the field of His telescope there pass the cities, villages, homesteads, communities of men; seas of commerce, lands of industries, temples of worship; a panorama of the human world. East, west, north, and south is the ubiquitous Roman world, with the metropolis on the Tiber keeping the peace of the nations, administering justice, exhibiting the majesty of unity. Her legions are commanded by soldiers of an unselfish heroism; her citizens inspired by a sense of public interest and public duty; her engineers have covered the empire with a network of roads and postal communications. Nothing like Roman civilization and unity had been known before. This civilization is permeated by Greek culture. Philosophy, literature, art are the gifts of Greece to the Roman world; a language with a metaphysics of time in her tenses and a metaphysics of space in her cases, flexible and luxurious in inflection, capable of expressing the finer shades of thought and every variation of feeling into which the acquisitions of Hebrew holiness have passed, and which is to be the vehicle of Christian ideas. In the broader lights of the picture are Athens, and its later transcript Alexandria, with their schools of learning, giving idealisms to knowledge and beauty to conception; Platonism, Stoicism, and Philonism, and their unconceived potentialities. Nothing like Greek thought had been before. Roman law has been the guidance of justice ever since, and Greek literature the model of the schools ever since. On the northern fringe of this visible Roman world and the invisible Greek world lay a world just dawning in the golden mists of an uncertain morning, a rude, rustic world of Saxons, Engles, Danes, Jutes, but with the rudiments of the highest virtues, pregnant with modern Germany, Britain, and America. There lay the germs of that love of truth, life in home, liberty of parliament, naval and military supremacy, genius of commerce,

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which characterize the Germany and Britain and America of to-day; there the head waters of our modern world.

The eye rests on one large sheet of water in this picture, and on one island in the waters, the pleasant island of Rhodes, once the trading centre and banking capital of the world kingdoms. The shipping of Rhodes is supreme on the Mediterranean; it has put down piracy, and the corsair is only a memory; it has given a mercantile code to all nations; its merchants are arbiters between contending princes, its bankers reconcilers of rival camps; it had organized a philanthropy for the poor. Its commerce was a guarantee for the peace of the nations. It is the ancestor of Venice and of London. The Rhodian emporium is a charming piece in the picture of Roman public life, Greek culture, and Teutonic juvenescences.

A mountain situation inspires a sense of physical magnitude and moral majesty. A mystery of suggestion lies in its intricate walls and valleys and distances. Mountain lands are exhilarating with ozone, delicious with colour, sublime in their domes and snows and sweeps. In their corries nestle rare plants, stranded from the glacial age; their watersheds give a trend to the whole structure of the country and determine its straths and rivers; they command the weather of wind and rain for the plains; the fissures and crumplings of their strata entertain the wealth of lakes and metals. A spectacle of majesty and mystery, having an antiquity written neither on vellum nor palimpsest, exciting and exalting, is in the mind of the Lord

> "——of Nature's works,
> In earth, and air, and earth-embracing sea,
> A revelation infinite it seems;
> Display august of man's inheritance,
> Of Britain's calm felicity and power!"[1]

In a few words a miniature is painted of the kingdoms

[1] Wordsworth, *View from the Top of Black Comb*, Cumberland.

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of the world, as Matthew has it; the monarchies of the inhabited earth, or the royal economies of humanity, as Luke more graphically makes it.[1] No strong reds or greens or blues are on the canvas, almost a monochrome. Nothing detailed—as if the whole landscape was of equal value; no cloud-fields, all bathed in sunshine. Rhodes, Athens, Alexandria, Rome, and dots of villages far off on the horizon, of nebulous communities, like star-mist, which will yet condense into nations and civilizations, abbreviated every way, without glare, but enamouring; the colouring, without sumptuousness, has one of the highest elements of art, that of suggestiveness. The Lord of man, and the Original of man, sees the splendours of His own humanity on every side of Him on that mountain landscape. We must read the real into the ideal.

We shall compass the human splendours which flashed and filed[2] before our Lord, by considering with some particularity the humanity on the horizons around Him, and the essences of it. Then we shall become sensitive to the temptation which lay entangled in the landscape.

We see the splendours of the Greek kingdom in the conspicuousness of Greek art, the forms and lines of which are models to this day, unsurpassed by the human faculty. Art comes from the finer perceptions of the mind; the outer world is taken into the world of mind and there idealized. Art gets her forms from nature, but she cannot draw a line without having a fairer line in the mind than nature shows to the eye. An artist paints not light, but the light of light, a light which the faculty of the beautiful has seen; not a shade, but the shade of shade, which the ideal faculty had seen. He does not merely cut and carve in marble

[1] ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης.

[2] ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου, flashed and filed, implies rapid mind movements, leaving a mark behind, and adds to the graphicness of the picturing.

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a face he has seen, but another face which he has seen look out of that face. He paints the spirit of nature; he attempts the human form as the Creator had it in His mind before He put flesh on it. He omits the prose he sees; his work is creative, and poetry means a creation in the Greek language; nature is a poem, and the Creator of it a poet.[1] It reveals a human splendour of perception when the Greek mind created forms which have never been excelled. And Greek art found its pure creations in a perception of the infinite and the invisible in God, in the august far-off mystery of the Being who invests our beings. The labour of Greek art was specially expended on the human form. The Divine incarnate in the human form was the special inspiration of Greek art. "In building and adorning temples architecture has become a fine art, and the images of the gods dwelling therein, combined with the symbolical representation of their deeds and history, have raised sculpture to its highest perfection. . . . In this way the temple became the rallying-point of everything good, noble, and beautiful, which we still consider as the glory of Greek culture and refinement." [2] "The adoption of Greek architectural forms [by the Romans] was therefore due to religious causes, previous even to the entering of æsthetical considerations into the question." [3]

Hard by this sense of the ideal, and organically related to it, is Greek philosophy. The perception of the ideal became art on one side, and philosophy on another. Phidias and Plato belong to the same period of Greek splendour. Plato says: He who would proceed aright in the study of life should begin in youth to visit beautiful forms, and these will create fair thoughts. The beauty of

[1] ποίησις and ποίημα, a making, a work; the art of poetry, a poem.

[2] E. Guhl and W. Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans, Described from Antique Monuments*, translated by F. Hueffer, pp. 2, 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

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one form is akin to the beauty of another, and he will then see that beauty is one everywhere, and will be a lover of all beautiful forms. In the next stage, he will find that beauty of mind is more honourable than beauty of outward form. He will then bring to the birth thoughts which improve the young mind. He will see the beautiful in institutions and laws, and that personal beauty is a trifle. After, he will go on to all knowledge, and see its beauty, and he will draw to the vast sea of beauty, and he will get on the shore when he gets the vision of a single science, which is the science of beauty everywhere. Beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he becomes the friend of God, and immortal.[1]

This is the simple philosophy of Greece, Greek idealism, which Plato has bequeathed as the immortal legacy of Greece to our world. It is very unlike the jargon of distracting technicalities which has since been called philosophy, which has made its name a terror amongst us. Plato tells us who the philosopher is: "The mind of the philosopher alone has wings; and this is just, for he is always, according to the measure of his abilities, clinging in recollection to those things in which God abides, and in beholding which he is what he is. And he who employs aright these memories is ever being initiated into perfect mysteries, and alone becomes truly perfect. But as he forgets earthly interests, and is rapt in the divine, the vulgar deem him mad, and rebuke him; they do not see that he is inspired."[2] Greek idealism is science, poetry, and religion in a unity, a unity which has yet to be found for modern knowledge. The Greek philosopher is the Hebrew prophet, the Druid seer, the Persian astronomer, rolled into one.

[1] *Symposium*, *Dialogues of Plato*, translated by Jowett, vol. ii., pp. 61, 62. I have abridged and given a more modern costume to Professor Jowett's translation, to make it accessible to the general reader.

[2] Jowett's *Plato*, *Phædrus*, vol. ii., p. 126.

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Organically correlated with the perceptions of the beautiful and the ideal is the Greek perception of the pain in human being, the crucifixion that is eternal in the universe. The Greeks were by temperament a sunny, breezy, buoyant race; by environment of a delicious climate, they were a life-loving people. But they saw the other side, the shadow and the penumbra. A healthy melancholy lay in the heart of this radiant race, and it made them kindred with all mankind, impartial and symmetrical in sympathy. Hector, the suffering Trojan, is as brave a hero as Achilles in the estimate of Homer; Polyxena, the Trojan maiden offered in sacrifice, is as noble a victim as the Greek Macaria, sketched by Euripides. The feeling that dominates Greek literature is tragedy, and tragedy was a State institution for the education of the people. It tells the story of retribution, the curse of a bad heredity, the inscrutable of sorrow, the necessity of human sacrifice, the unexplored frontier of fate and guilt, the awe of death. The *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides are the Isaiah, the Job, the Micah of the Greeks: resonant expressions of the sorrow and doubt and unknownness which encompass human life. "A god is he who leads mortals on the way to wisdom, and has ordained that suffering by a peculiar property should convey instruction."[1] So Æschylus. And Euripides,

> "With various hand the gods dispense our fates;
> Now showering various blessings, which our hopes
> Dare not aspire to; now controlling ills
> We deemed inevitable: thus the god
> To thee hath given an end exceeding thought:
> Such is the fortune of this awful day."[2]

And there is a knowledge in the unknown which sees time prolonged into a timelessness, the inscrutable of sad-

[1] *Agamemnon*, 170.

[2] Euripides, the end of *Bacchæ*, *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Helena*, and *Andromache*.

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ness make a unity with things far off, the immaturities of the finite on their way to the infinite. The Greeks gave to their vivacity the seriousness of sepulchral rites and lamps. Their minds revelled in creations of beauty, all nature was sublimed into a deified splendour; but they saw a Prometheus, an Orestes, and an Antigone. It was a tempered vivacity. When a supple race like the Greeks make tragedy a ruling education, they had got the truth of being, having gone beyond passing interests and the happiness of the light and the nerves. They felt that they were in the employment of the higher powers. George Eliot has said, "No wonder man needs a suffering God." The Greek theory of being had permeated thought everywhere, and had prepared men for the revelation of a suffering God. It was a healthy theory. Greek tragedy was a victorious sorrow. In the last words of the grief, the guilt, and the relentlessness of his tragedies, Euripides often strikes an Easter note,

> "O Victory, I revere thy awful power,
> Guard thou my life, nor ever cease to crown me."[1]

Pericles delivered a funeral oration over his countrymen who had fallen in a Peloponnesian campaign. He was one of the best of men; he gave a description of the average Greek, and men are not wont to speak unrealities in the presence of death. The Greek character is thus given. Intellectually, "we study taste with economy, philosophy without effeminacy."[2] Socially, "we make friends, not by receiving, but by conferring kindness."[3] Sympathetically, "we are the only men who fearlessly benefit any one, not so much from calculations of expediency as with the confidence of reality."[4] Ethically, "we most carefully abstain

[1] *Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris, Phœnician Virgins*, Potter's translation.
[2] Thucydides, Dale's translation, p. 114.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

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from transgression, through our obedience to those who are from time to time in office and to the laws." [1]

This is the human splendour of the Greek world, permeating the inner life of the nations, and the Greek language is international. The ideal, the invisible, the immortal are found in the Greek genius, a rich contribution to the soil of a new continent. To make men sensitive to the unity, the beauty, and the repose of the universe was the Greek mission. The ideal is the unity of a thousand ideas. Heracleitus at the beginning of Greek life said, "The hidden harmony is better than the manifest one." The immortal was not, as with our Wordsworth, an intimation, but the rhythm in which the mortal jar finds a musical place. It was the useless surplusage of faculty and feeling, the over-endowment, finding its utilities in the Elsewhere. It came from a sense of proportion. Greek cities could not brook a king, because the visible monarch obscures the human ideality and the divine invisibility seen in the bond that unites citizens into a coherent unity. The Hebrews failed where the Greeks prevailed; got a king against the protest of their holiest citizen.

The human splendour of Rome was at the other pole of the human axis. When Phidias was sculpturing the Parthenon and Plato writing idealisms, Rome was in the prime of an unstained vigour. She had no genius for ideas; she had then only one kind of literature; she was writing the Twelve Tables. The expression of what was deepest in her was Law; she was codifying laws. The Roman had the practical faculty, and a prosaic character, without originality. The original of every striking thought in Virgil can be found in Greek literature. He was forging those bonds of law which were to bind the nations into an imperial unity. His mission was conquest, dominion, and unity. The Roman idea of law came from the family; he

[1] Thucydides, Dale's translation, p. 113.

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had perceived that the family was the basal institution, and he symbolized this high perception by the fire in the temple kept by the Vestal virgins. Obedience more than love was the family unity, and nothing like the absolute submission of the son to the Roman father has ever been known in our world. Domestic obedience was the seed-plot of those laws which commanded the obedience of the civilized world. Law was the cohesion of the family, the constitution of society; to law must be conceded private interests, and to the interests of society must be sacrificed the individual. Will is not allowed to disturb the majestic supremacy of law; the individual is suppressed. Resignation is the Roman excellence, the virtue of Virgil.

This perception of law gave to the Roman his one ideal invisibility, which was the city, and latterly the State; the impersonal city; the invisible state; the ideal dominion. "Princes were mortal; the State was everlasting."[1] The Roman millennium was peace by a universal dominion. Clans, tribes, communities are in a condition of chronic strife; interests are opposed, or supposed to be. Conquest, and submission to law after conquest, is the reconciliation which Rome made for the nations. Even the crimes of Rome were often sacrifices offered at the shrine of law and submission. The ignoble servilities by which, in the ruins of better days, the noblest families accepted from emperors the most capricious assassinations are an illustration of that subservience to law and authority which was burnt into the very bone of the Roman character, and now gone morbid.[2] Obedience was the sacrament of the soldier; the invisible State the inspiration which constructed roads and bridges. Dean Merivale says: "The education of the world in the principles of a sound jurisprudence was the most wonderful work of the Roman conquerors. It was

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 6.

[2] *Annals*, xvi. 16, where Tacitus feelingly refers to this baseness.

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complete, it was universal, and in permanence it has far outlasted, at least in its distinct results, the duration of the empire itself." Surely a splendid mission.

This is the splendour of the Roman world. Capacity in conquest and of colonial expansion and of government; mastery over men; the force of justice, law, submission; practical sagacity, power of organization, subordination of the individual to the public interest; the sense of citizenship, loyalty to the commonwealth, the value of civil life, these giving a richness and reasonableness to mundane affairs, and a serious view of life, constitute a lustrousness of human splendour. The Roman type of character, in spite of weakness and failures which disfigure it, is drawn in masterly touches by Dean Merivale. "The history of the Cæsars presents to us a constant succession of brave, patient, resolute, and faithful soldiers, deeply impressed with a sense of duty, superior to vanity, despisers of boasting, content to toil in obscurity, and shed their blood at the frontiers of the empire, unrepining at the cold mistrust of their masters, not clamorous for the honours so sparingly awarded to them, but satisfied with the daily work of their hands, and full of faith in the national destiny, which they were daily accomplishing."

The Roman race, with the forces, principles, inspirations which ruled it, was a splendour unsurpassed, and only equalled in these later days by the British race. The Roman faculty of efficiency, united with the Greek faculty of abstraction, was being transferred to those Teutonic races, who have the promise of the future.

For around this splendour of Greek and Roman constellations lay a milky frontier, of hazy possibilities, but of measureless promise, which the eye of the Seer could easily discern. On the northern horizon there was the zone of the Teutonic nations, destroyers of Rome and heirs to it; fathers of modern Europe and America; mothers of the

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colonists of Australia and Canada, and of the conquerors of India and Burmah. What like they are we shall see from the graphic pages of Tacitus. What like the potentialities looked we shall see from this conservative Roman historian, who believed in the Few ruling the many, and who writes with a despair of the Few, who appreciates the Teutons, but sees not their future, sees not in them the punishers of Roman crimes and the receivers of Roman essences.

We see the rudiments of unborn civilizations in those clans and villagers which Tacitus calls Germans, but who called themselves Deutscher, which we have corrupted into Teuton. The law of sex is the first of all laws, and our German ancestors had raised chastity into a primary virtue, and Tacitus testifies to the extreme purity of the family life amongst them. "Their marriage code, however, is strict, and indeed no part of their manners is more praiseworthy. Almost alone among barbarians they are content with one wife." [1] "The loss of chastity meets with no indulgence; neither beauty, age, nor wealth will procure the culprit a husband. No one in Germany laughs at vice, nor do they call it a fashion to corrupt and to be corrupted." [2] "They love not so much the husband, as the married estate." [3] "They even believe that the female sex has a certain sanctity and prescience, and they do not despise their counsels or make light of their answers." [4] This is touching the granite of the bottom and reaching up to the sapphire of the sky. This is the sensuous transfigured into the spiritual. In keeping, is the sorrow of love. "Tears and lamentations they soon dismiss, grief and sorrow but slowly." [5] In their judicial practice they made clear distinctions. "In their

[1] *Germania* by Tacitus, translated by Church and Brodribb, c. 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, c. 19.
[3] *Ibid.*, c. 19.
[4] *Ibid.*, c. 8. Church and Brodribb have used the text which has *sanctum aliquid*, but I have seen a text which has *divinum aliquid*, a certain divineness.
[5] *Ibid.*, c. 27.

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councils an accusation may be preferred or a capital crime prosecuted. Penalties are distinguished according to the offence. . . . Crime they think, ought, in being punished, to be exposed, while infamy ought to be buried out of sight."[1] A sense of justice rules them. He speaks of "the Chauci, the noblest of the German race, a nation who would maintain their greatness by righteous dealing."[2] Their courage is an undoubted power. "To abandon your shield is the basest of crimes, nor may a man thus disgraced be present at the sacred rites or enter their council."[3] "Nor are they as easily persuaded to plough the earth and to wait for the year's produce, as to challenge an enemy and earn the honour of wounds."[4] A human nature who sees the sanctuary of sex, the sexual idea, sees also that the sanctuary of worship must be unseen. "The Germans, however, do not consider it consistent with the grandeur of celestial beings to confine the gods within walls or to liken them to the form of any human countenance. They consecrate woods and groves, and they apply the names of deities to the abstractions which they see only in spiritual worship."[5]

Here we are at the childhood of the English, German, American humanity of our day. Here are the seeds of that political, literary, commercial harvest which we are gathering in our modern world. What we call the barbarisms of our Teutonic fathers are the rudimentary virtues, the imperfect methods, the freshness, the luxuriant and untamed strength, the dim longings, the misty probabilities of youth, out of which has come our civilization. "It is with reverence such as is stirred by the sight of the head waters of some mighty river that one looks back to these village moots of Friesland and Sleswick. It was here that England learned to be a mother of parliaments. It was in these tiny knots

[1] *Germania*, c. 12. [2] *Ibid.*, c. 24. [3] *Ibid.*, c. 6.
[4] *Ibid.*, c. 14. [5] *Ibid.*, c. 9.

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of husbandmen that the men from whom Englishmen were to spring learned the worth of public opinion, of public discussion, the worth of the agreement, 'the common sense' the general conviction to which discussion leads, as of the laws which derive their force from being expressions of that general conviction." [1]

By these details we understand the glory of the world kingdoms which flashed upon our Lord on this mountain summit. We see the special aspect of humanity which He saw. The highest and best is what He takes note of, and examines with a sympathetic mind, and which He loves and takes pride in as Himself human. The highest and best could alone be a temptation to Him, to regulate and develop and fertilize. This truth demands underlining. A temptation to a great mind is not made of dust or dirt; illusion has no cheat in it for a high soul, nor vice a charm; quackery, putrescence, hallucination, did not present themselves to the searching eye of Christ, to palm themselves off on Him. Fraud and forgery make pseudo-temptations. A temptation is a choice between what we know is really good and bad, higher and lower, will and law. Fabled properties of things, insolences, falsities could be no temptation to Christ, could not assume the proportions of a temptation. The hypothesis that the glory which Christ saw was a tinsel cheat we must dismiss at once, as incredible from the bottom to the top of it. He looks on the inherent splendours of humanity, the royal economies of the inhabited earth.

W. W. Peyton.

(To be concluded.)

[1] Green, *Making of England*, p. 194.

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BREVIA.

Dr. Dods on St. John's Gospel.[1]—There are some, though it may be quite a minority, among the many admirers of Dr. Dods who will receive his latest work with rather mingled feelings. If they do so, it will be chiefly because his other writings, and in particular his contributions to THE EXPOSITOR—so genial, so intelligent, so well informed—have accustomed them to set for him a high standard, which the present volume reaches indeed, but perhaps does not in all respects equally sustain.

On the face of it, this volume, like the rest, bears certain great and conspicuous merits. It is written with complete lucidity and ease. It meets the average reader entirely on his own level. It takes him by the hand, and leads him through the Gospel by smooth and pleasant paths. It puts no strain upon his powers of attention. The style is at once flowing and pointed; and the subject is treated with warmth of feeling, with sincerity, and with reality.

Let me add, that here too the exposition of the Gospel is always intelligent, and sometimes felicitous in its wording and illustrations. Just two of the latter I am tempted to quote. The first is a rabbinical parallel to St. John v. 17, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

"'Why does not God keep the Sabbath?' a caviller asked of a Jew. 'Is it not lawful,' was the answer, 'for a man to move about his own house on the Sabbath? The house of God is the whole realm above and the whole realm below'" (p. 194).

The other is from a work with which I am not acquainted, but which must evidently contain thoughts of value, Treffry, *On the Eternal Sonship*:

"Had the Jews regarded the Messiah as a Divine Person, the claims of Jesus to that character had been in all cases equivalent to the assertion of His Deity. But there is not upon record one example in which any considerable emotion was manifested against these claims; while, on the other hand, a palpable allusion to His higher nature never failed to be instantly and most indignantly resisted. The conclusion is obvious" (p. 346*n*).

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[1] *The Gospel of St. John*, vol. i. ("The Expositor's Bible"). By Marcus Dods, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891.)

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These of course are not the only good things of the kind; but they are so good as to excite in us the wish for more. Dr. Dods will forgive me if I say that I have read his book with something of professional jealousy for the reputation of the guild to which we both belong. And it is on this professional side that it seems to me, I confess, in some degree wanting. It has a scientific value, and it has also a popular and homiletic value; and the second seems to me, more than I like to allow, in advance of the first. One is reminded of the admirably thorough and exhaustive —so far as such a word can be used—treatment of the Fourth Gospel by Dr. H. R. Reynolds in the "Pulpit Commentary." Of the "Expositor's Bible" Dr. Dods has a more familiar knowledge than I have; but two other volumes of it lie before me (*The Pastoral Epistles* and *The Epistles of St. James and St. Jude*), and I cannot but think that the proportions there observed are both better in themselves and more in keeping with what I take to be the object of the series. The impression made upon me is that Dr. Dods elaborates the homiletic parts too much, and leaves his text too soon. I should have preferred to see the text more closely grappled with, and the homiletics confined to hints and suggestions. Perhaps it is right that questions of scholarship, various readings, and the like, should only be touched in the slightest and most general manner; but even so there are inaccuracies. As for instance, where it is said to be probable that St. John "adopted the Roman reckoning" of the hours of the day, "and counted noon the sixth hour" (p. 132). This method of counting was not at all peculiarly "Roman," but was, in fact, almost universal. It was rather the other method of counting—the evidence perhaps does not permit us to say the *hours*, but the *day*—from midnight which more properly deserves to be called "Roman": at least Aulus Gellius and Macrobius tell us (after Varro) that the Romans so reckoned their "civil day" ("diem quem Romani civilem appellaverunt a sexta noctis hora oriri": *Noct. Att.* iii. 2; Macrob., *Saturn.* i. 3).[1]

This is only a detail; but I cannot help taking stronger exception to the absence of any adequate introduction. (The intro-

[1] The question as to St. John's mode of reckoning time is a complicated one. It has recently been re-opened by the Rev. J. A. Cross in an article in the *Classical Review* for June, 1891. Of previous discussions one of the best is that by Mr. McClellan (*Gospels*, pp. 737–743).

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duction to Dr. Reynolds' "Pulpit Commentary" fills 161 closely printed, large octavo pages, not one of which we could afford to lose.) We are plunged into the prologue at once, with only a note on the structure of the Gospel by way of preface. Now I can well understand the cutting short of the wearisome discussions as to the genuineness of the Gospel. Writing for the public he has in view, Dr. Dods might very naturally start from the assumption that he is really dealing with the work of the Apostle St. John. But surely a word was needed to explain when, where, and under what circumstances the Gospel was written, and what was the attitude of the author towards the facts he is relating and towards the narratives which preceded his own. These are matters which are as far from being self-evident as they are from being without significance for the understanding of the Gospel. If critical study means anything, it means that the reader of to-day is to be placed side by side with the writer, and learn to see what he saw as he saw it. In omitting to approach his subject from this side, Dr. Dods seems to have abandoned much of the vantage-ground which the researches of modern times would have given him.

This is, I think, the chief defect in Dr. Dods' book, taken by itself and as one of a series; but there is another which it shares, by no means in large measure, but still in some measure, with a nubmer of others, and which for that reason I feel obliged not to pass over in silence.

The strong point in most modern reproductions of the Gospel narrative, and the strong point more particularly in Dr. Dods' books, is the persistent effort to *realize* what is being described, to translate it into present-day language, to bring out the deep and permanent human interest in it. In this, as I have said, Dr. Dods seems to me to have conspicuously succeeded. But a danger lies by the path of those who make this effort, which I cannot but think is too often imperfectly seen and guarded against. Dr. Dods has a natural finish of style and lightness of hand which save him from it to a greater extent than many of his companions, but even he is not entirely exempt. For instance, paragraphs and sentences like these I cannot help strongly deprecating.

"The disciples, when they went forward to buy provisions in Sychar, left Jesus sitting on the well wearied and faint. On their return they find Him, to their surprise, elate and full of renewed energy. Such transformations one

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has often had the pleasure of seeing. Success is a better stimulant than wine. Our Lord had found one who believed Him and valued His message; and this brought fresh life to His frame" (p. 161). "Jesus cannot stand it" (p. 89). "His brothers, who might have been expected to understand His character best, were very slow to believe on Him. They only felt He was different from themselves, and they were nettled by His peculiarity" (p. 243).

Idiomatic writing is good in its place, but its place is not here. And though we believe that our Lord took upon Him "our infirmities," our infirmities does not mean "our littlenesses."

I hope it will not be thought too presumptuous if I address a word of warning to others which I would be fain to remember myself. He who would lift up his eyes to the central figure of the Gospels must be content to stand "afar off," with hands crossed over his breast, and with the words for ever at his heart, if not upon his lips, "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

When a critic ventures to exercise his function towards those whom he unfeignedly respects, he will often find it hard to escape the miserable consciousness that in pointing out what seem to him blemishes he may be taken to imply, and even to wish to imply, that he could do better himself. Nothing could be further from the thought of the writer of these lines. He sees in the book of which he has been speaking much to which he would gladly attain if he could, but he knows that he cannot. That knowledge however does not, he thinks, acquit him from the duty of holding up to his fellows the best ideal which it is given to him—not so much to practise as to conceive.

W. SANDAY.

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THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.

A STUDY OF HIS DEVELOPMENT IN THOUGHT AND UTTERANCE.

LET me with trembling hand and reverent love unveil the soul of the Hebrew prophet *Jeremiah*, the man of God, the prophet of personal godliness. He was that one of his class to whom many turned in our Lord's day, saying, "This Jesus is like him." This draws us peculiarly and with tender power to him. What was the secret of that power?

I do not purpose to draw a sketch of the life and times of Jeremiah in the sense of recounting simply all the external and formal facts, and solutions of questions, that might be so entitled. Rather do I wish, as I have suggested by the title, that my readers should watch with me the soul of the man and minister in his progress step by step, from word to word, and thought to thought, from knowledge and conviction on to higher knowledge and deeper conviction, and thus ever on to fresh Divine oracle. For God giveth "to man His thought," and "He revealeth His ways to His servants."

We shall see him gazing on God, on God's providence, on God's disclosures in thinking souls of the consequences of those facts which have been already disclosed. Beholding the man, we shall behold God revealing His own mind in the man, in the man's thoughts, in the man's eager scrutiny of all he knows and sees. We may see thus the very process of revelation. And we shall perhaps recognise in this man of God the very image of our own highest

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selves. We shall find ourselves at home in fellowship with this minister to men and God. The picture of Jeremiah, so far away, shall lead us to-day.

I. The book of our prophet has an unfortunate appearance at the forefront. There is a beautiful tablet on the gateway of the building, hinting at golden treasure within; but at once appears in the porch and far within a very confusion of stones and beams for building, and all material for adorning a glorious palace and home, lying all in heaps, all unbuilt, a riddle of disorder. At the outset, after the preface, the book of Jeremiah is very hard to read. In plainer words, the preface chapter is beautiful in its form, its faith, and its promise; but then onwards for some nine chapters is a mass of summaries of oracles, of extracts and broken sayings that puzzle one badly and leave few brave enough to read through them and beyond. After this comes glorious delight.

For half a dozen chapters, on from chap. xi. to chap. xvii., are a series of scenes of experience, personal and national, told with most pathetic tenderness and great-souled sympathy, all interwoven with oracles of truly grand power. In these six chapters are embedded some of the most singular suggestions of thought, that have influenced the works and records of all Hebrew story since, and have thus deeply graven their mark on our own life. Onwards still through another half dozen chapters, we find chiefly pure oracle without much interwoven story, all however giving us the ever unfolding picture of the man.

At chap. xxvii. we come upon quite a new departure in the book. The scenes and oracles that follow are dated, almost without exception. Some great change must have happened to produce such effect. At first the dates tell us that the chapters and their scenes are from the happier though somewhat anxious days before the invader's hand gripped Jerusalem for her death blow. Then comes the

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story of the siege, from chap. xxxii. onward, closed by the tale of the few poor families left by the conqueror in charge of the land when he carried off all the rest as slaves. Jeremiah stayed in the desolate land with the few to counsel them, and so was carried off by them in their terror-stricken flight to Egypt, to speak his last words on the banks of the Nile. This ends at chap. xlv. It is a thrilling tale. It is surprising that no oratorio-composer, or fashioner of romance, has as yet lit upon this fine, full story of life, woven throughout as it is with tragedy—tragedy of mortal life indeed, but more deeply inlaid with the tragedy of a soul.

Such is Jeremiah's book concerning Judah. There is also a section of six chapters (xlvi.–li.) of oracles concerning Babylon and those foreign peoples that made up the political horizon around Judah.

II. The outline thus gained will only excite a reader's further curiosity. Why that sudden change from undated to dated records of deeds and speech? And what do the dates tell of the condition of the world when this man spoke, in so quiet a corner, yet to such enduring purpose? Look back a moment along the stream of thought or life wherein this man stood.

From say 900 to 750 B.C., or to reckon by names, from the reforming leader Elijah to the eloquent leader Isaiah, men moved forward from grasp of one great faith to grasp of others; so it was at least among the best souls of the time. They grasped in Elijah's day the faith that Jehovah, the Hebrew God, was supreme. They moved on to grasp in Isaiah's day the faith that He was gracious unto forgiveness for His own people, giving forgiveness to wrong-doers who stood round the spot where He appeared on earth, to wit, His sanctuary Zion. Let us observe that the material accompaniments of their faith are interesting enough; it is of interest to study what Zion was, and so forth; but

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more interesting by far is the fact of a mental advance, an insight in spiritual realities that was growing, a piercing deeper and deeper into the mind of God. To observe this is to see what may well be called the process of revelation. Look at it now further, after Isaiah had preached as we saw and persuaded men that Jehovah was gracious unto forgiveness to sinners in Zion.

About one hundred years after Isaiah, say when his influence had worked as long as John Wesley's has now, there was an awful calamity. A savage people, so called, burst forth from southern Russia, poured away down the wealthy Euphrates valley, eager to feast in its joys. They shook the great Assyrian government to its foundations, and then hasted away to revel in the luxuries of the other great land of wealth, the valley of the Nile. As the hordes streamed down the Philistine coast Judah might well be panic-stricken. Zion, nestling high upon barren hilltops away east, and far above the highway, shook like the aspen. Her lower lying villages to the westward must have been, of course, trodden like cornfields beneath wild cattle. She escaped almost unhurt; and the effect of the fright was wholesome. King, officers, and people joined in a solemn covenant to observe sacredly the Deuteronomic law of one sanctuary, declaring that the Zion where Isaiah had proclaimed God's grace should be henceforth the only legal place of worship.

Young Jeremiah joined in the covenant: all seemed well. But soon the watchful, thoughtful young preacher pointed his finger and his word at immorality in those covenant makers. When he condemned them, the people hooted at him. That covenant had been signed in 623 B.C. Onward until the year 606 Jeremiah seems to have been a social outcast. All we know of his preaching in those years must be learned from the scant summaries and the confused heaps of recollections that are piled up in the dozen

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chapters following the preface. I can fancy how the day came when men were glad to gather these as best they could, when the once despised man had become famous. For so it was. We know how Jeremiah proved at last a true predictor. It seems that the political junctures and wars resulted, as he had expected, not in the success of Assyria over Egypt, indeed, but in the complete overthrow of Egypt at the battle of Carchemish before a new rival world-conqueror, Nebuchadnezzar, the brilliant warrior-prince of the old, long enslaved, but now fresh-wakened, mighty Babylon.

Jeremiah became at once popular. He was powerful, although still hated by many, consulted as a very oracle by kings, even when imprisoned for a while, wonderfully honoured by the very Babylonians, and at last carried off to Egypt by the superstitious fugitives, as if his person were a charm and safeguard against all harm. Henceforward his story was carefully recorded with dates. Men wrote his biography in more than one edition, and gathered in a sacred collection scraps of that counsel which they had once hated. *Sic transit gloria mundi.* One might distrust the collecting work of such sycophant editors, were not their very superstition some assurance that they have really given us the words of their prophet. It is fairly evident that for the most part they have done so.

II. We turn now to trace what the man was in *soul*, what he did and thought and learned to think, and what he became as he moved forward from position to position in his mental development.

Let us see first what we may call his fundamental thinking, or philosophy of religion, concerning the soul and the nature of God. We shall do this by watching the succession of the oracles one after the other, and the growth of soul thus evident. All the finer sight is this because his studies were carried on from no sense of duty to a profes-

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sion, and under no command of some masterful teacher or school or tradition. These traditions indeed you will see him handle rather severely so far as they existed. His impulse in study was simply the instinct in him, his instinctive devotion to life. This is a high motive, for instinct means what God implants, and to follow it is godliness. Instinctive devotion to thinking means a very love for being in general, as Jonathan Edwards would say, and love for knowledge of being, and love for the increase of being. We shall see that Jeremiah was a genuine thinker and an unwearied student.

1. Let us trace then, as concisely as we can, his thinking about the nature of the soul. We shall see that he was a very father of psychology and anthropology; and it is from him we quote when we repeat certain well known characterizations of the will or the mind.

Let me premise that his observations all flow from a keen inspection of his own experience. His extremely frequent soliloquy shows this. Very much of his oracles are talks to himself, and to God concerning himself.

Recall some of his sayings, *e.g.* that notable word, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?" In those days the heart was supposed to be the organ of knowledge; so in the language of to-day he would have said, "Who can tell the secrets of his neighbour's thoughts? How different may be his conceptions from what we think they are!" And he said it was faulty knowledge, or a badly instructed heart, that caused sin. He watched also the relation of the knowledge to the will. So in another notable oracle he discusses the will and the disposition, whose organ was supposed to be the reins. These, said he, with sorrow, are not secret, like knowledge. They are too well known, too consistent in bad men. The will is not so flexible a thing as it ought to be. It is, alas! as fixed as the features of the body.

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"Can the Ethiopian change his skin? then can ye do good who are accustomed to do evil." He counted the will a something that ought to be amenable to persuasion, and would be so were it a normal will. Now these psychological notes and well known sayings just mentioned are to be found in those chapters, xi.–xvii., which record, as we have said, much of his early experience in the days of his unpopularity. He was a hard student then. Reading on into the next following oracles, you will get a fine sight of his quick moving forward whenever occasion came and common sense required it. Chapters xviii. to xx. record his oracles of the "potter and his clay." When he learned how the first of these had started the fatalist cry, "We cannot help sinning," and saw that his doctrine of the will, as unchangeable when bad, gave some ground for this, quick as thought he faced round to the occasion, asserting the unanimous voice of men to be that the will is always free, that when men sin they do it utterly in the teeth of all nature and reason, and they deserve their ruin.

I may not now trace similar progress in his thinking through chaps. ii.–x., that summary of his early work; and I refrain the more now because to one special point in it I have to come back presently for serious reasons. I will only add here to this psychological story three short notes:

(1) When he pictures the bright future that he hopes for, when God's grace shall give them a different heart—that is, a different and new and better *knowledge* of things than they have now—he adds carefully that the will must then remain free and responsible. They shall find God even then only when they seek Him with all their powers of knowing (xxix. 13; xxxii. 39).

(2) Again: there is a beautiful touch in his message of cheer to his faithful amanuensis Baruch, who grew frightened, disheartened during the siege and amid all the strange fortunes of his master. Says Jeremiah, chapter

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xlv.: "O Baruch, thou criest, Woe is me! I find no rest. Seekest thou great things for thyself, O Baruch? Seek them not. Jehovah is sure to bring evil on this place. But be satisfied, count it all sufficient that He will give thee thyself. To possess a soul is to have wealth abundant." Such an estimate of the value of one's soul was more inspiring than any Stoic's teaching. Was it not a very forestalling of the highest doctrine of the God-Man?

(3) Finally in the prefatory chapter i., which is the preface so fitly because it coins in a few characteristic words the substance of the whole book, you hear the grand soul of the man saying, "Precious is my soul, precious has it been ere ever it was born, precious enough for God to make His own companion." And this makes clear to us the peculiar worth of Jeremiah as distinct from all who had prophesied before him. They believed in the great value of Israel, saying, "God is with *us*." Jeremiah gazed on his own individual soul, saw its great worth, and declared for the first time, "God is with *me*." Such was this father of psychology two hundred years before Plato. The work of Plato was begun as far behind Jeremiah's day as we are behind Spinoza or Locke.

2. Such a man could not fail to speculate on the nature of God. His speculation on God seems at times even a little more scholastic than that on man; but it is quite as interesting, for at times it throws light on the old meaning of names of God. Jeremiah is not the father of theology, for the character of God was the great subject of the oracles of all those Hebrew teachers. Micah, just before Jeremiah, gives a sublime estimate of Jehovah's love and of His ethics also. Isaiah's great business was to proclaim Jehovah's devotion to His people; Amos had asserted the abstract goodness of God; while Hosea had actually started a dialectic concerning God by some of his questions. But none of these gives us anything like Jeremiah's discussions.

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Turn again to those early oracles, chaps. xi.–xvii., and read especially that heart-stirring story and prayer concerning the drought (chap. xiv.). The tender-souled prophet pleads with Jehovah: "Art not Thou called by the very name 'the Rain Causer'? and art not Thou 'He that causeth all things'?" The same thought starts out ever and anon as we read through the early words, and on through all to the last, when nearly at the close we read a most singular oracle in the opening of chap. xxxiii. At the time of this utterance Jeremiah was in prison during the final siege, B.C. 591–588. Alone but with God, in the dungeon pit but beholding the highest of all things, silent but meditating, he writes:

"Thus hath said Jehovah, who is 'Maker,'
Jehovah, who is 'Fashioner,'
He who comes to establish,
Jehovah is indeed His name,
Cry to Me, and I will answer thee,
And I will create for thee great things, yea, things apart,
Which thou hast not known."

Here was verily a beginning of what Professor Max Müller would call philosophy of religion based on the study of language; and with Jeremiah this grew keener the longer he lived.

But there is a more profound feature in his theology, and it comes from inspection of his own soul as his psychology did. After all, while the history of the religious idea is very valuable, and the study of what other men have said about God and what they have called Him is very important, the central question must be, "What is God to me?" What control do I feel over me? Answering this faithfully first, I may then wisely compare and test my faith by study of the faith of others. Jeremiah gives us this, his subjective theology, as well as the study of the meaning of the name of God. He tells us what sort of control he felt

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in himself, how he wrestled with it, how he even questioned its right to be. He would be called now a very freethinker, a very sceptic, determined to be right and to accept only what he saw to be right. It was in the later days of his unpopularity, *i.e.* about midday in his life, that he wrote thus (chap. xx. 7 ff):

"O Jehovah, Thou hast kept deceiving me, and I am indeed deceived:

Thou hast gripped me, for Thou art able.

So I have become a laughing stock.

Then when I reflect and say, 'I will submit to this no more; I will honour Him no more; I will say not another word in his Name':

Then there has been in my soul like a burning fire locked up in my bones.

I have been worn out trying to contain me, and I have been unable."

That sense of control in the soul is God. A control so real that you try to resist it,—*that* is God. Such a struggle to be, if possible, an atheist is the truest theism. See the bitterly questioning soul! How intensely he felt God!

But the restfulness came with time, as was natural. Younger men have their struggling way of feeling God; older men feel Him in the calm and psalm of eventide. So Jeremiah. We have seen his early struggle: turn to chap. xxxiii. again, written far on in his years. It begins with study of the name, the word "Jahweh"; it rolls on thus, ver. 11 ff:

> "Again there shall be heard in this place
> The voice of joy, and jubilation,
> The voice of them who say,
> Give praise to Jehovah of hosts;
> For Jehovah is good,
> For 'His mercy endureth for ever.'"

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Whether Jeremiah was the first to write that grand chorus of the later psalms I will not discuss here; but this I know, that it burst from his soul as from lips of no mere chorister. Rather as the vanquished wrestler with God he sang, bowing his soul, but more than conqueror; he was the religious thinker, the theologian, who had burst into the very heart of God. Jeremiah tested God and said:

"Jehovah is good;
His mercy endureth for ever."

III. Few words are necessary now to tell how Jeremiah thought, and advanced in his thought, of what we may call practical theology. He said momentous things concerning sacred institutions, forms, instruments, and the like. We can sum it in brief here after what we have already studied; for it is a fact that an honest study of theoretical theology, *i.e.* of the philosophy of religion, is the best preparation for a clear view of practical religion. We have traced Jeremiah's doctrines of man and of God. I may put in very rapid statement the whole of his momentous faiths respecting forms of worship. There were two main things he said, one following directly as the consequence of the other. Let us look at the consequence first:

1. First then, Jeremiah reached and preached a remarkable *political* doctrine. He came slowly, unwillingly I think, but decidedly, to the belief that it was a wise thing and the best thing and the right thing for his nation to lose itself utterly for a long period in the great Babylonian empire. It was a hard doctrine for the people, harder far than we think: no wonder Jeremiah nearly lost his life more than once for it, and had several severe imprisonments and much abuse.

I need not mention the hopes of the previous prophets, save to recall Isaiah's. We know Isaiah's brilliant words of faith that "Zion was absolutely safe, founded of God on a sure foundation. He that would but trust should

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not make haste. He should never have to run from an invader" (Isa. xxviii.). In face of such great oracles the people might easily be angry with Jeremiah's new doctrine. For in the reformation under Josiah they had publicly recorded God's promise, and had sought to make this safety no mere simple gift of God's grace, but to add the safeguard of their own promise of obedience. The people had promised the obedience; how did Jeremiah dare to question such a great promise of God's grace, so ratified? He did question it. But even he came to it unwillingly and slowly. He believed in the reformation and the covenant at first. What made him change? There were various interesting causes, one being no doubt his general political wisdom and acumen; but that was not all. He saw Babylon rise quick like a magician's tree. It rose at once from its slavery to its empire. He saw it overshadow its great mistress Assyria; he saw Assyria fall, great but subject; then he saw Nebuchadnezzar lead the Babylonian armies to overwhelming victory over Egypt in 606 B.C. This is all true. Jeremiah judged wisely that Babylon was to be a more thorough world mistress than had ever been seen; and submission, absorption, would be safety. But these events all came *after* Jeremiah had begun to utter his mind. We recall the covenant made at the reformation, made but not kept, as Jeremiah claims. In the covenant, as you shall read it in Deuteronomy, obedience was promised all blessing as its reward; disobedience was threatened with every awful curse. This no doubt suggested Jeremiah's conclusion, that the curse must come. But he went much further. If he had gone no further he would have been a mere recorder of a judicial sentence that everybody knew was deserved and must be pronounced; he would have been no searcher into the deeper things of God. He would not have been the discoverer of new truth, the revealer that by God's grace he was. His cry, slowly pressed from his

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soul, slowly wrung out by profoundest logic, by the logic of God, was: "Isaiah was wrong. Zion is not necessarily, inherently safe. Zion is only a material symbol, not more dear to God than other material things. She has been important; she is not so important to-day as is *order* in the family of the nations. Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon must rule all now, and so bless all the world, even although by-and-by, for her folly, she herself may fall.

2. So we are led directly to that faith of Jeremiah which *caused* his political change. Again it was a faith reached only slowly and after resistance; and it was reached as the result of that earnest reflection on the state and nature of men's souls which we have already traced. Early in the summary mass of sayings (chaps. ii.–x.) is one dated from Josiah's days, *i.e.* before 609 B.C., which runs thus:

"It shall come to pass in the days when ye go on multiplying and are fruitful, as it has been predicted ye shall, then —the very oracle of God is, that men shall no more say,

'The ark of Jehovah's covenant.'

The ark shall not come into your mind.

Men shall not remember it.

No one shall miss it.

No new ark shall be made."

Such fine insight into the evanescence of religious symbols was sure to produce that political estimate of Zion which we have seen. Jeremiah never made the great mistake of supposing life can exist without forms. That were impossible. Indeed at the very time when he spoke the oracle just quoted, he praised certain forms which he laid aside afterwards. We pass on a few years, and read those startling words in chap. vii., under Josiah's second successor Jehoiakim. He goes into the Zion temple under a deep sense of God's guidance, and there cries:

"Trust not, ye Jews and worshippers, in lying words, saying, 'This is the temple of Jehovah.'"

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And later in this oracle he adds:

"Offer God no burnt-offerings, but eat as food all the beasts ye slaughter, for your own pleasure only. For He did not give laws at the exodus concerning burnt-offerings and slaughterings. He said: 'Listen for the Jehovah voice. Let Him be your God, and be ye His people.'"

The words are startling to us. The hearers nearly killed Jeremiah.

The best thing for us to do is to put in a few sentences the gist of Jeremiah's mind as expressed in the course of the whole of this striking oracle. He says, in effect:

(i.) "Sacred things, such as temple, sacrifices, and the like, do not insure highest character. They do not give highest value to life. They are thus not *creative*. In this sense they are not Divine."

(ii.) "Rightness alone is so. Oneness with that abiding voice that whispers to the soul 'Thou shalt,' 'Thou shalt not,' alone gives peace, sense of approval, sense of worth, joy, life."

(iii.) "The use of sacred symbols is quite compatible with non-Jehovah worship, with subjection to false gods, or, as we would say to-day, with unholy character."

(iv.) "Therefore sacred things must be changed. Life will change them, and prove itself to be life by changing them. For symbols do not create new life: but life creates new symbols."

Such was Jeremiah.

IV. In conclusion, let us suffer the attractiveness of this man to bind us to him, to our Lord, to one another. Yes; let Jeremiah win us to know ourselves, as he strove to know his own soul, in its most hidden secrets. Let his constant interest, that beautiful interest he had in all the facts that God has made, the facts of self, God, life, especially religious life, charm into brightness our interest in all these things to-day. In a remarkable sense Jeremiah

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was a teacher for us now; for the secret of all keen thinking to-day, whether among quicker thinkers or slower, more radical and rapid men or men more cautious and reserved, is the belief in the immanent God and the consequent unspeakable value of humanity and of nature, of thought, of habit, and above all of religion.

He was surely right in his iconoclastic attitude toward forms, as the tree is right to burst the binding bark which it ever re-forms afresh. Onward then be the watchword we cry, following this leading man of God. Ever new forms; ever more life that dwells in forms, and casts them off to fashion new. More life in more love that comes of more vision of souls, our own, our brothers' souls, the soul of God in whom we live. More vision in more thought; then fearlessly forward to new words and deeds. To this the prophet Jeremiah commands us.

A. DUFF.

THE FOURFOLD REVELATION OF GOD.[1]

BY the "Fourfold Revelation" announced for this evening's subject, I mean the revelation of God in Nature, Scripture, History, and Life. I propose to speak generally of their relation to each other, and more particularly of the relation of Scripture to the rest. Infinite as the subject is, some aspects of it may be brought within the compass of an evening's paper. It will be convenient to begin with a glance at Nature, History, and Life apart from Scripture.

First then we look at Nature. This is the revelation on which the stress was laid a century ago. Christians were tired of controversy, and inclined to look to natural religion for the substance of their duty; while deists readily fell in

[1] Read before the St. John's College Theological Society, Cambridge, May 22nd, 1890.

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with principles which seemed to make the gospel needless. Both parties were at one in an ideal view of Nature, which further enabled them to agree fairly well upon the outlines of faith and duty.

But these conceptions of natural religion were much too definite. Christian ideas were unawares imported wholesale. Men spoke of God like Christians; but Nature tells only of an eternal power and divinity. So too their assurance of a future life was the echo of their Christian childhood, their imagination of infinite benevolence in Nature a Christian reading of its harsh and jarring strife. Their whole view of Nature was fundamentally untrue. They saw the surface harmony and beauty—the happiness of the bird, the glory of the flower—but not the bitter struggle for existence. In truth, stern laws are working everywhere, and Nature's punishments are merciless. Man, even wicked man, sometimes forgives: Nature never. The car of fate rolls on, and crushes man and beast beneath its wheels. There is indeed some mitigation for the beast, which lives but for the moment, and is snapped up suddenly. Only man has no relief, for only man knows the remorse of conscience and the wear of lingering pain. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of Nature.

Next, we look at History without Christ. There were great historians indeed before His coming, and they wanted not for worthy subjects. Herodotus tells the epic of Europe and Asia, Livy that of the rise of Rome. Thucydides had before him the catastrophe of Athens, Polybius the destruction of the last free states by Rome, Tacitus the lurid splendour of the early Cæsars. Yet with all their keen insight they never reached the idea of a plan in universal history, of a divine purpose even in the struggles of barbarian peoples.

If the revelation of History is far from clear, the revelation of Life is covered with tenfold darkness. Hard as it is to

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look through History "to some far off Divine event," it is harder still in the trials of life, in personal suffering and pain, in the wrong and outrage with which earth is filled, to see the individual care of God for each and all of us. Men could not rise without Christ to one of the hardest efforts of Christian faith.

Whatever then an ideal man might learn from these three revelations, it is clear that men in general have found them insufficient. Nobody now contends that the gospel is a secondary matter, even if true. If it is not false, it must be paramount. Let us take it into account, and look at things again.

When we speak of the revelation of Scripture, we must bear in mind that Scripture is only the record which contains it. The revelation is the ever-living Person of the Lord. He came not to work miracles or teach religion, but to be Himself the revelation of both God and man to men. In Christ we know that God is no abstraction of the blind and ruthless powers of Nature, but a loving Father of His erring children, and that His all-sovereign mercy is over each as well as all of us. He may not rend the heavens and come down, but the prayer of sorrow and the cry of wrong are not unheard on high. In Christ we know the true prerogative and dignity of man, that he is the son of God, and ruler, not of this world only, but of that to come. Not in the image of angels man was made, and it is not the image of angels that we shall wear when sin has passed away. In Christ we know that the life we live in Him is life indeed and incorruptible. In Him by faith we live in the eternal state, even while we sojourn in the world of time.

The Hebrew prophets found in the world a meaning unknown to the philosophers. They could discern the strife of righteousness and sin, and look through the deliverance of Israel from Egypt or Assyria to a mightier

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deliverance of mankind from the powers of evil. But there are two great imperfections in prophecy. For one, its perspective is timeless. It is like the morning dawn, which lights up one range of hills after another, without giving any idea of the valleys between. The other is that it came at sundry times in sundry parts as men could bear. It is only hints and fragments of the infinite and final revelation of the Lord, the far off shinings of the brightness of His presence. But now that the Lord is come indeed, and nearer to us in heaven than He ever was on earth, His presence with us needs must light up mysteries inscrutable to men before His coming. The mysteries of Nature, History, and Life are summed up and have their answers in His everliving Person. In the light therefore of the cross of Christ we look at them again.

In the first place, we see why thoughtful and cultured heathens could get no further than they did. They worshipped Nature in her beauty, and paid no regard to things they counted vile and ugly. Therefore they could have no true knowledge of Nature as a whole. They plumed themselves on their Greek civilization, and despised the slave and the barbarian. Therefore they could have no conception of universal history. They deified man, but only in his animality, or at best his intellect. Therefore they overlooked his spiritual nature, and with it the deeper meanings of life. Now it is from the gospel that we learn the scientific spirit of investigation. Even as we must become little children to come to Christ, so we must become little children to question Nature, History, or Life. We are not to build our castles in the air of that which might have been, or that which ought to be, but to trace out with loving patience that which God has done. The Christian spirit is the scientific spirit. If we believe that every creature of God is good, we shall not be ashamed to follow out His handiwork in every ugly corner of Nature.

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Nay, it is our duty so to do. Even the Old Testament has its rebuke for the men who regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of His hands. If we count no man common or unclean, we shall see for ourselves the unity of History, that in Christ there is neither male nor female, Greek or Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free. If we reverence our own selves as the temple of His Spirit, we shall not fail to see His loving guidance in the storms of life. We are too apt to fancy that mere intellect, if only there be enough of it, will solve all problems. We forget that spiritual conditions limit intellect: witness the colossal blunders of Napoleon. All true insight comes indeed from Christ, but all true insight is not limited to His outward Church. Many a heathen had it in his measure, and many an unbeliever has it now. Candour and diligence and purity of heart are His good gifts wherever they are found, and many a man who walks in darkness is a truer servant of the Lord than some of us who bear His name.

Now let us look again at Nature. From the unity of God we learn the unity of law. We see no longer a chaos of countless lesser forces, but the direct action of a single will upon the world. The old Hebrew conception was the true one after all: "He maketh winds His messengers, His ministers a flaming fire." The laws of Nature are the thoughts of God, and we build our very life upon their fixity. "I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed." The mighty maze of being is no longer without a plan. In the light of science, as unveiled by Christian hands, we can trace that plan from a remote and dim antiquity, on which the geologist himself is silent, and even the astronomer must speak with bated breath. Onward through ages measureless to man it unfolds in ever-growing richness and complexity, and rises step by step to higher and nobler spheres of growth and conflict. First we seem

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to see the fashioning of streams of incandescent star-dust into glowing suns and lifeless worlds. Then comes a mighty interval for the cooling of this whirling orb of molten rock before the appearance of life and death in plants, and then of life and death in animals. Onward still the conflict rises as higher and higher forms appear. Brighter grow the lights of life, and deeper yet the shades of death, till at last the glacial period clears the way for the age of crisis. Next, and still on the direct line of evolution, come life and death in man, and, last of all, the dread reality of which all that had gone before was foreshadowing and preparation—the transcendent conflict of eternal life and eternal death which was decided for ever on the cross of Christ. And now we watch and wait in sure and certain hope that He will come again to quicken our mortal bodies and deliver the entire creation from its present state of bondage and corruption.

Next we look at History. From the unity of God we learn the unity of History. Above the anarchy of this world's troubles and disorder is an order planned of God. That order runs through Scripture like a silver thread. You may turn from the Hebrew prophets to our Lord on the Mount of Olives, from the Gospel of St. John to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, from his Epistle to the Ephesians to the nameless writer to the Hebrews, without ever losing sight of it. The work of criticism on universal history was begun by Christian students. Justin and the Alexandrians recognised a Divine teaching of mankind in Jewish law and Greek philosophy. To Augustine all the glory of imperial Rome herself was only an episode in the building of the City of God, whose foundations and completion are not of this creation. And since Augustine's time the order of the ages has been far unfolded. Thus the call of the Teutonic nations, the supremacy of the Latin Church, the revolt of northern Europe, the rise and fall of

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Puritanism, the reconstruction of society in our own time, have each of them taught for all generations some new revelation of God in history. The centuries which separate us from the carnal presence of the Lord bring us all the nearer to the secret of His counsel. In spite of the darkness of ignorance and the turbulence of human passions, in spite of the errors of councils and the apostasies of churches, His Holy Spirit guides His people still. Without that guidance in history we should indeed be hopeless; but it is not the formal guidance of which carnal men have dreamed. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Outward forms of Churches or cunningly devised confessions may blind our charity or turn our hearts to malice, but they cannot limit His holy working in the world. Not in a book and not in a Church, not in the record and not in the witness, is our life, but in the Lord who loves us, our Saviour and our God.

There still remains the hardest task of all—to bring the revelation of Life to the light of Christ. From the unity of God we learn the unity of Life. Our joys and sorrows are not the isolated things they seem, but parts of one connected training for another state. However hard it be to realize, thus we know it is. Though God's call is loud at times in the great and strong wind and the earthquake and the fire, His truer utterance is the still small voice which speaks to us in common duties. Here we tread on holy ground, where a stranger may not intermeddle. Some things however I may say. If you know not yet what God is doing, its meaning will unfold in middle life or riper age. In His guidance, if we only follow it, there is something which ennobles duty and transfigures pain, something higher and far better than any petty dreams and worldly hopes of ours. Whatever of human glory He may call us to renounce, He has promised to recompense us even in

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this life a hundred-fold. We know it now by faith, and we shall see it with our eyes at no far distant day, when this world's twilight shall have passed away, and we shall see Him as He is.

H. M. GWATKIN.

ON THE MORAL CHARACTER OF PSEUDONYMOUS BOOKS.

II.

ALTHOUGH, from the facts adduced in a previous paper, there would seem to be no external evidence that pseudonymous works were in ancient times composed in perfect good faith, as a recognised kind of literature of the nature of dramatic fictions, not intended to deceive any one, it is possible that a proof of this might be found in the internal character of such writings themselves. They might conceivably bear such marks of truthfulness and high moral earnestness as to make it perfectly certain that they cannot have been intended to deceive, even for such good ends as ancient philosophers thought might justify pious frauds. An instance of this may be found in Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, which breathe such a lofty religious earnestness and pure love of truth as, even were there no other proof, would show that their literary disguise was not intended to be taken as true. If, in many of the ancient writings that are certainly pseudonymous, such an internal character of manifest truthfulness could be traced; we should be obliged to conclude, even in the absence of external evidence, that dramatic personation was a recognised literary practice in the times and circles in which such writings originated. It must be observed however, that this argument, in order to be conclusive, requires that the writings on which it is founded be certainly works claiming a false name and authority; for if that is only doubtful, the explanation of

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their high moral character may simply be that they are really the productions of those from whom they profess to come. Further, the internal character that can warrant such a conclusion is not mere general moral goodness, and the earnest recommendation of virtue, since these are sometimes found in what are undoubtedly pious frauds, as the *Clementines*, but that peculiar air and tone of heartfelt sincerity that cannot be logically defined, but is felt by every sympathetic reader. In the absence of this, much sound ethical teaching under a false name may be explained by the view, which certainly did prevail, of the legitimacy of deceit for a good end. Only on these two conditions can an internal argument to the effect above stated be conclusive; and whether it is so must be decided by a careful examination of undoubtedly pseudonymous books from the special point of view of the regard for truth and sincerity which they indicate on the part of their authors.

The question simply is, whether any of these are mere dramatic personations composed with no intent to deceive, like the productions of Pascal, Bentley, Steele, Addison, Tennyson, or Browning in modern times. What moral value is to be assigned to them, and how they are related to the doctrine of inspiration, are separate inquiries, to be considered afterwards. Meanwhile it may be useful to examine some of the undoubtedly pseudonymous works of Jewish or Christian literature in the light of the first question.

One of the best of these is the Wisdom of Solomon, which, as before mentioned, was regarded by many of the Christian Fathers as an inspired production of the Hebrew king. The author does indeed most distinctly describe himself as Solomon, telling in chap. vii. 7–12 how he prayed and sought for wisdom above sceptres, wealth, and other earthly good things, and obtained all these things along with wisdom; and in chap. ix., in the form of a

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prayer to God, speaking of himself as appointed to be king of God's people, and commanded to build a temple to Him. But there is no attempt to sustain throughout the character of Solomon, and the greater part of the book consists of general exhortations to wisdom and virtue, which are indeed always earnest and sometimes truly eloquent. It begins with an address to them that judge the earth, calling them to seek righteousness (chap. i.); then in chap. ii. 1–20 the sentiments of the ungodly are reported, who say there is no future life, and resolve to enjoy the present and to persecute the righteous, who provokes them by his reproofs, and calls himself a son of God. The close of this chapter shows the folly of this; and chap. iii. presents in contrast the happy prospects of the righteous and the opposite lot of the ungodly. The theme of chap. iv. is that the life of the righteous, though it be short, is better than the long life of the ungodly, and the proof of this is given in chap. v.; while chap. vi. is a renewed exhortation to kings and rulers to seek wisdom. Then comes, in chap. vii., the account of the author already mentioned, and in the close of that chapter and the next there is a description of wisdom largely pervaded with ideas of the Platonic philosophy. Chap. ix. is a prayer in the person of Solomon, which passes into praise for what wisdom has done for the fathers of the Hebrew race, recounted in chaps. x., xi., and xii. The three following chapters are occupied with an exposure of the folly and sin of idolatry, regarded as the source of all other sin; and the remaining chapters (xvi.–xix.) with a highly rhetorical and somewhat confused account of the plagues of Egypt viewed as a punishment for idolatry and the oppression of Israel. From this analysis of the book, it would seem that the aim of the author was to controvert the Epicurean philosophy and the idolatry that was peculiarly rife in Egypt. The moral tone throughout is earnest, and among the evils denounced is deceit (δόλος, chaps. i. 5,

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xiv. 25), though this is only mentioned in a very cursory way, while ungodliness, idolatry, and sensuality are the sins most frequently and strongly condemned. It can hardly be said that the ethical teaching of the book is so deep and spiritual as to be inconsistent with the approval and practice of a pious fraud by the writer; and his undoubted knowledge and following of the Platonic philosophy on many points makes it less improbable that he may have been influenced by it in this. It may be noticed also, that in the account of the patriarchs' history, Jacob is described as a righteous man when he fled from his brother's wrath (chap. x. 10), whereas in Scripture no such praise is ever given him in that connexion, and there is distinct intimation of disapproval of his deceit, which the author of Wisdom does not even hint. Similarly, in chap. x. 15, there is exaggerated praise of Israel, when in the Egyptian bondage, as "a pious nation and a blameless seed"; and in chap. xii. 7 the Canaanites are said to have been expelled in order that the land might receive a worthy colony of God's servants. These things betray a moral standard slightly beneath the very highest; and since the writer is not hindered by Jacob's deceit of his father from calling him, without qualification, a righteous man, he may very probably not have thought it wrong to deceive his readers by assuming the name of Solomon in order to gain acceptance for the moral and religious truths which he so earnestly inculcates.

The book of Baruch professes in its opening sentences (chap. i. 1–9) to be the work of the person of that name who was the friend of Jeremiah, but assumes that he was at Babylon at a time when he could not have been there. It is written from the standpoint of Israel in exile, and consists of exhortations and prayers suited to the circumstances of that time. These breathe throughout an earnest and devout spirit; but they are little more than a mosaic

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of passages from the prophetic writings, especially Jeremiah, Daniel, and Isaiah. Since its contents are so largely borrowed and at second hand, it is impossible with confidence to infer from them much about the moral and religious character of the author, except that he was a devout man, who valued the teaching of the Old Testament and desired to enforce its lessons. No interested or unworthy motive for his writing is discoverable; but, on the other hand, there is no evidence that he would be incapable of using the deception of a false name in the service of piety. What the particular motive was is not very evident; but possibly it may have been to inculcate on Jews living under a heathen government the duty of being loyal to it, without failing in obedience to the Divine law as given them by Moses.

The Epistle of Jeremiah, which is generally mentioned along with Baruch by ancient writers, professes to have been written, at God's command, by the prophet whose name it bears, to the Jews who were about to be carried by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon. It is entirely occupied with warnings and arguments against idolatry; and these are of a very popular and superficial kind, combating only the grossest and most absurd form of that practice, in which the actual images were believed to be the deities to whom worship was paid. There is hardly any positive teaching in this document, and nothing inconsistent with the supposition that the name of Jeremiah was purposely assumed simply to gain authority and currency for the letter.

The book of Enoch need not, for our present purpose, be examined or described in detail. It shows, indeed, amid its strange and fantastic visions, a spirit of moral earnestness and religious faith, but no very elevated spirituality. The evils denounced are chiefly those of sensuality, arrogance, and oppression; and on the most favourable view of

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the writers' state of mind, it was one of morbid enthusiasm, in which the wildest fancies and dreams came to be confused with realities.

None of the apocryphal writings is more interesting or attractive than the Jewish work which forms the central part of the fourth (or, as reckoned in the English Apocrypha, the second) book of Esdras. Written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, it gives pathetic expression to the feelings of sorrow and dismay which that catastrophe would cause to every patriotic Israelite, and the author is led by those feelings to reflect with pious yet passionate earnestness on the mysterious problem of Divine providence, since, though he knows and acknowledges that his people have by their sins deserved the ruin that has come on them, yet the heathen who triumph over them are more guilty still; and in general he finds it hard to reconcile with the goodness of God that the saved are so few in comparison with the lost. The dialogues on these subjects between Ezra and the archangel Uriel in chaps. iii.–x. are full of poetry and pathos; and in their general character, and the way in which they rise from personal and private sorrow to the universal afflictions of mankind, have struck a modern reader as akin to Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.[1] The vision of the eagle that follows in chaps. x.–xii. is to our taste extremely artificial, and looks like a mere attempt to deceive by a prophecy after the event; yet Ewald[2] has shown that this is not a mere arbitrary invention, but a representation of the Messianic hope that might naturally occur to a Jew surveying the history of the Roman empire in the first century. The whole is put into the mouth of Ezra, who is represented as living about one hundred years earlier than his real date, and his reflections

[1] A. Taylor Innes, in THE EXPOSITOR, third series, vol. vii., p. 212, "A Forgotten Poet."

[2] *History of Israel* (Eng. trans.), vol. vii., pp. 47 foll.

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are made to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans. The book is perhaps quoted in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and expressly by Clement of Alexandria, and when used by these and later Christian writers seems to have been believed to be a genuine prophecy by Ezra.

This work has throughout a pure and high moral tone, as well as many noble and sublime passages; and it is far more fresh and original, and less dependent on the Old Testament Scriptures, than the book of Baruch. The author cannot have been a mere vulgar impostor; he is thoroughly in earnest in seeking consolation for himself, and giving it to others. Yet his moral teaching has very marked limitations. Not only is he intensely Jewish in his Messianic hopes, but he has nothing to recommend to his people except the strict observance of God's laws: there is no prayer or promise of renewal of heart; and the triumph of the Messiah is represented as to be achieved by mere Divine power and judgment. He occupies the Pharisaic standpoint; and while he frankly confesses the sins even of the pious, his sense of sin does not appear to be very deep. If we compare his book with that of Habakkuk, which treats of the same subject, we cannot but be sensible of the difference between the prophet of faith and the poet of expiring Judaism. It does not therefore seem at all impossible or unnatural to suppose, that with all his earnestness, this author was not so deeply pervaded with the love of truth as to shrink from personating Ezra by a pious fraud, in order to impress his readers more deeply, and perhaps also avoid danger in his vaticinations of the fall of the Roman empire.

Very similar to this book, and of equal interest, is the more recently recovered one, called the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which most scholars regard as dating, like Fourth Esdras, from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, though a recent writer has adduced some weighty

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considerations in favour of an earlier date, that of Pompey's desecration of the temple in 65 B.C.[1] It is simpler in its imagery than the other, and pervaded by an equally earnest and devout spirit. One is greatly inclined to believe, in regard to both of these books, that the fictitious dress was merely a recognised form of composition; so that the authors could be freed from any moral blame. At the same time it seems clear, that the fact of bearing the names of earlier prophets or men of God did gain for such books greater estimation, and that this was one object in the assumption of these names; and we cannot say that the moral tone of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, though really earnest, is so lofty and spiritual as to be incompatible with the employment of deception for such an end. In any case we must recognise in the author an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm, leading him to present the results of his own meditations and reveries as Divine oracles and prophecies; and that may quite naturally have made him less sensitive to the claims of veracity than the highest morality would require.

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which profess to be the dying charges of the sons of Jacob to their children, are well characterized by Westcott[2] as due to a combination of enthusiasm and fraud; but in them the traces of a defective moral sentiment are more apparent. The treacherous conduct of Simeon and Levi to the Shechemites is justified;[3] acts of deceit are described without any compunction;[4] and Issachar is made to say,[5] "guile never entered my heart," though he is represented as taking part, at least by silence, in deceiving his father as to the fate of Joseph. These things betray a moral standard that would not be offended at the use of a pious fraud.

[1] See *Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, pp. 414–422. By John E. H. Thomson, B.D., Stirling. (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1891.)

[2] *On the Canon of the New Testament*, p. 355.

[3] Levi §§ 5, 6. [4] Judah § 7; Joseph § 11. [5] Issachar § 7.

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The collection of so called Sibylline oracles that has come down to us is as strange and remarkable in its internal character as in its history. It is an extraordinary conglomerate of various elements, which the utmost skill of modern criticism can hardly discriminate with certainty. Fragments of ancient heathen oracles on various countries and cities; Jewish compositions of widely different dates, founded on the Old Testament prophecies, and clothed in Greek heroic verse; Christian interpolations of a similar nature, expressing the history and doctrines of the gospel; didactic pieces of a moral kind, which have been subjected to repeated editorial manipulation, form a confused mass, in which very little order or method can be discerned. All through these verses the profession is kept up, that they are the utterances of an ancient prophetess, who is sometimes introduced as speaking of herself as a daughter-in-law of Noah, earlier than the Trojan war, and predicting it as well as the poems of Homer. There can be no doubt that this representation was purposely adopted to gain credit for the oracles as real predictions. The form of the metre shows a disregard of the strict rules of the Alexandrian poets, and an affectation of the simplicity of Homer, which must have been due to a deliberate desire to produce an appearance of antiquity. The prophetic form cannot have been a mere literary artifice, like that used by Vergil in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, by Milton in the close of *Paradise Lost*, and by Gray in the *Bard*, which no one ever mistook for real predictions. The moral tone of the Sibylline oracles varies as much as their character in other respects, but nowhere does it seem inconsistent with the admission of a pious fraud. Moral and religious exhortations bear a much less proportion to mere prediction than in the prophetic books of Scripture, and some considerable portions are occupied with mere versifications of history put in a predictive form, but in the most prosaic and

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artificial manner, the names of successive Roman emperors being indicated by the numerical value of the letters composing them. These puerilities however occur chiefly in the later portions, which are every way inferior to those of earlier date. In book iii., which contains probably the earliest of these poems, and was for the most part the work of a Jew in Egypt about 160 B.C., there are frequent moral exhortations, but chiefly against outward sins, such as polytheism, idolatry, uncleanness, and oppression. The Old Testament prophecies of the Messianic age are paraphrased with warmth and sympathy, and these may have been seen by Vergil and used as the foundation of his *Pollio*. A didactic poem, that was at one time ascribed to Phocylides, is embodied in book ii.; but though it has Christian additions, its morality is but commonplace. In book v., which was probably by a Jew in the time of Hadrian, the denunciations of judgment against Rome show some real earnestness in condemning religious and moral evils, and may have proceeded from an intense conviction that such vices must bring down Divine wrath. The Christian portions of these oracles consist chiefly of accounts of the incarnation, life, and death of Christ, and of His advent to judgment, and are more theological than religious or moral in tone, giving prominence to doctrine, and in some places containing references to the intercession of the Virgin, and the deliverance of souls from purgatory (ii. 313, 331–339). They contain no less distinct references to the Sibyl as an ancient prophetess than any other parts of the collection, and are sometimes highly artificial in form, especially in the acrostic (viii. 217–250), known to Augustine and Lactantius, in which the initials of the lines form the name and title of the Saviour.

It is not needful to say much about the *Clementine Recognitions* and *Homilies*, which are admittedly fictitious compositions, and examples of the general character of such

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works, though they seem to have been regarded by Origen, who quotes, and by Rufinus, who translated the *Recognitions*, as authentic works of Clement. They are a sort of philosophical and religious romance, and were evidently composed with a view to be taken as true, and to exalt the honour of Peter and the claims of the Catholic hierarchy. While much in them is eloquently and impressively written in support of religion and morality, their contents show that the author, or authors, would not have shrunk from employing deception in the cause of Christianity. Not only is the doctrine of reserve in concealing the truth from the unworthy inculcated,[1] but it is represented that Gamaliel was really a Christian, allowed by a dispensation from the apostles to remain among the Jews in order to check their plans and warn the Christians of them;[2] Peter is said to have sent disciples as spies on Simon[3] for a similar purpose, to have assented to known falsehood,[4] made pretence of ignorance,[5] and practised a fraudulent personation.[6]

The various apocryphal gospels, Acts, and Revelations contain even less that is morally good and more that is childish, absurd, and pernicious than the *Clementines*, so that it were vain to search among them for instances of high moral character in pseudonymous books; and I think I have examined a sufficient number of the best of them to show that their moral and spiritual character is not inconsistent with their having been pious frauds, employed in what was supposed to be the service of religion, in an age when deceptions of that kind were common, and allowed by a current system of philosophy.

The fact that many modern critics think that some of the books of Scripture are pseudonymous, raises the question whether this is consistent with their being divinely

[1] *Recog.* ii. 3, 4, iii. 1; *Hom.* "Epistle of Peter to James," Cap. 1.
[2] *Recog.* i. 66. [3] *Hom.* ii. 37. [4] *Hom.* ii. 39.
[5] *Recog.* x. 2, 3. [6] *Recog.* x. 55, 61, 66.

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inspired, or whether we ought to exclude from the canon any book that professes to be the work of another than its real author. This question cannot be fairly decided in such a summary and off-hand way as some answer it, who take extreme positions, either in the affirmative or the negative; for there are various considerations to be taken into account before we can have a right view of the matter.

In the first place, inspiration is consistent with any kind or form of literary composition that would be intelligible to the readers. This appears, both from the true conception of what inspiration is, and from the facts presented to us in the actually inspired writings. The statements that the Bible makes about the inspiration of its writers lead us to conceive of it as an influence of the Spirit of God, enabling those who received it to declare to their fellows truly and authoritatively the mind and will of God. The truth was to be conveyed in human language, and that, in order to be intelligible, must be used according to the natural character and habits of the speaker. Whatever idiom or mode of expression he would use in ordinary speech might be employed in speaking as moved by the Holy Spirit. Rhetoric, poetry, drama, allegory, or any other form of serious discourse that would be rightly understood in a mere human production, may equally find place in one divinely inspired. This is fully confirmed by the variety of literary forms in the books of the Old and New Testament. There we find the simplest narratives, the most impassioned eloquence, the most imaginative poetry, with all its figures of speech, parable, allegory, and dramatic composition in Job, Canticles, and some of the psalms. These last mentioned cases require us to admit, as consistent with inspiration, the ascription to historical personages of discourses not literally uttered by them. The recognised custom of antiquity allowed historians great freedom in representing the sentiments of the men about whom they wrote

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by imaginary speeches, founded more or less completely on what was actually said. It is not therefore inconsistent with inspiration that a similar liberty be used by those who were moved by the Spirit of God, conveying substantial truth in an intelligible and impressive way. The speeches in Job, the Song of Songs, and some of Jesus' parables are examples of dramatic personation, which is a form of literature recognised in all educated communities; and if an entire book should appear to have been composed for a similar purpose, in order to present vividly the thoughts and feelings of an important person, there would not be in this fact any reason to say that it could not be divinely inspired. In short, whatever form of composition uninspired men employ to convey their ideas to others may be used by those who speak or write under the guidance of the Spirit of God.

A second consideration is, that an inspired book may come to be ascribed to an author to whom it does not belong, and to whose authorship it makes no claim. For this evidently pertains to the later history of the book, and has no bearing on its original composition, unless it could be maintained that Divine inspiration requires that in all cases the authorship of its productions should be so plainly ndicated that no mistake on this point could be made. But this is evidently not the case. Sometimes the inspired writers are at pains to identify themselves: and when they do so, we may presume that the authorship of these pieces is a matter of importance; but many books of the Old, and a few of the New Testament are anonymous, and in regard to these it must be assumed that the authorship is of no importance for their practical value and use, and their inspiration affords no security against mistakes about their authors. Even if a certain view of their origin and character led to them being regarded with reverence and received as holy Scripture, it does not follow that they cannot have been really inspired, should that view of their origin be

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proved to be erroneous. There may be sufficient reasons of a more legitimate kind for believing them to be inspired; and it is no part of God's guidance of His people to secure that true conclusions shall never be supported by false reasons. Thus the doubts about the canonicity of the Epistle to the Hebrews were overcome largely by the belief that it was from the pen of Paul; but as it contains no such claim for itself, we may recognise it as bearing clear marks of inspiration, though we cannot believe it to be the work of the apostle of the Gentiles. So too the Song of Songs may owe its position in the ecclesiastical canon to the belief that it is an allegorical poem by king Solomon, and yet need not be rejected as uninspired or worthless by those who see in it rather a divinely prompted protest against the polygamy of the Jewish monarch.

Nay, if inspiration is compatible with inaccuracies in minor and unimportant points, it would not seem to be impossible that an erroneous view of the authorship of an inspired book might be given by a later writer, also inspired. If, for instance, it be a fact, as many not extreme critics hold, that the song in Deuteronomy xxxii. 1–43 is not really by Moses, but by some inspired writer of a later time, the editor of Deuteronomy can only be said to have fallen into a mistake as to its authorship; and if, as may fairly be said, the teaching and value of the song are quite the same, whether it was composed by Moses or by a later prophet, it cannot be laid down dogmatically that inspiration must have prevented such a trivial error on the part of the editor. So when the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews ascribes the 95th Psalm to David, his inspiration is not rendered doubtful, though that be merely a popular mistake. The theory of inspiration, that would make all such inaccuracies impossible, cannot be maintained without such a forced and unnatural exegesis as dishonours Scripture more than the frank admission of immaterial errors.

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But there is a third consideration that must on no account be overlooked, since it is a fundamental principle of revealed religion that the Spirit that moved the writers of Scripture is the Holy Spirit, and that His influence is seen in nothing more unmistakably than in the moral purity and elevation of their tone and teaching. The great purpose of revelation is to deliver men from sin and its consequences, and bring them into fellowship with that God who is of purer eyes than to behold evil. We cannot therefore believe that the revealing Spirit is the author of anything unholy or immoral. Intentional falsehood or deceit must certainly be held to be immoral; and the detection of these in any composition, designed to promote selfish or sectarian ends, is inconsistent with its being divinely inspired. Yet even in regard to this, we must recognise the human factor in revelation, and the gradual way in which God educated men in morality. The full exposition of the moral law, as spiritual and requiring universal love and forgiveness of enemies, which Jesus gave, could not have been received by men in a lower and ruder state, when more elementary duties needed to be enforced by stern and terrible means; and Jesus Himself taught that the spirit which was to animate His disciples was not that fiery zeal that filled Elijah of old. The prayers for Divine judgment on the wicked contained in many of the psalms indicate an imperfect morality, when tried by the standard of New Testament teaching. Yet we do not need to regard these as uninspired; indeed we cannot do so, because in other respects these psalms breathe a pure and holy spirit, and are immeasurably superior to any other productions of the same age or stage of culture. The zeal against evil expressed in prayers for God's judgment was a holy and righteous zeal, which is always proper; but it could be expressed then only in a form that we now see to be defective, since Jesus has taught us a more excellent way, and

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shown, by His atoning death, that the fullest vengeance against sin is compatible with forgiveness and love to all sinners.

Now the question arises, may there not have been a similar imperfection of moral ideas in regard to truthfulness in the earlier stages of revelation? It is an undoubted fact that the supreme and absolute claim of truth is one of the moral lessons that the world owes to Christianity, and that distinguish it, when preserved in its original purity, from heathen ethics. A tendency to use deceit for what were reckoned good or holy purposes is plainly seen in the history even of the most godly in the Old Testament, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David. The sacred historians have indeed generally shown, by the way in which they narrate such conduct and its consequences, that they disapprove of it, though in some cases apparently unqualified praise is given to actions good in the main, but involving falsehood. The song of Deborah certainly betrays imperfect morality in this respect; but it need not be regarded as in the proper sense inspired. There are also throughout the Bible frequent and most emphatic precepts and warnings against all lying and deceit, and in the New Testament these are so solemn and searching, that it is quite impossible to suppose that, after Christ's coming and ministry, the guidance of His Spirit could permit an inspired writer to use such pious frauds as were sanctioned by Gentile philosophy. The question is perhaps somewhat more difficult in regard to the Old Testament, by reason of the progressive nature of the moral standard in early ages; but when we consider the special guilt attached to speaking falsely in the name of the Lord, even in times when deceit in less sacred matters was not absolutely condemned, we are led to the conclusion that Divine inspiration, though compatible with any recognised literary form, and possibly with involuntary errors of an insignificant

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kind, never did or could suggest or sanction wilful deceit, though it were for a good and holy end. The test would be, as Mr. Gore[1] suggests, whether the writer could have afforded to disclose the method and circumstances of his production. If not, it would be proved to be a forgery, such as we must hold to be inconsistent with inspiration.

The conclusion therefore would seem to be that books in which a false authorship is claimed, merely in order to gain the more acceptance for their contents, cannot be divinely inspired, or any part of the canon of Scripture. If any book is certainly proved by criticism to be of that nature, the necessary consequence should be that it be excluded from the canon; and, on the other hand, if any book possesses indubitable evidence of inspiration, and seriously professes to be by a particular author, that claim must be accepted as true. The two kinds of evidence are indeed quite independent; and it is therefore conceivable that they might conflict in some cases. If in such a conflict there were absolute certainty on both sides, on the one hand literary and critical evidence making it impossible that the work could be anything but a pious fraud, and on the other side every possible evidence of its being divinely inspired, the only conclusion would be that the doctrine of inspiration must be abandoned, or at least greatly modified. But this would only follow if the proof on both sides were such as to exclude all rational doubt. Such certainty is possible on either side, though it is not found in opposition in any case; and in most cases the evidence does not rise beyond a high degree of probability. In all cases in which the literary evidence points to the recognition of a pious fraud, while the spiritual character of the book and its use by our Lord as authoritative point to its being divinely inspired, it will be found that the evidence on one side or other is not absolutely conclusive, and there

[1] *Lux Mundi*. Preface to the tenth edition, p. xxx.

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is only a balance of probabilities. In such cases the inquiry on each point should be carefully kept to its proper subject matter, and the critical question of authorship not influenced by theological considerations, nor the religious question of inspiration by mere literary conclusions; but after each has been fairly examined by its own evidence, an effort must be made to compare their relative degrees of probability, though the result may be that judgment must be suspended and fuller light waited for.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

THE PURE WORD IN THE FOUL PLOT.

"Wherefore, my beloved brethren, let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath; for man's wrath worketh not God's righteousness. Wherefore, clearing off all foulness and rankness of evil, receive with meekness the implanted word, which is able to save your souls."—JAMES i. 19–21.

THE synagogue, not the temple, of the Jews was the model on which the primitive Churches were constructed. And in the synagogue the function of teaching was not confined to any one order or caste. Any intelligent and devout man might be called upon, by the ruler of the synagogue, to address an exhortation to the people. And in the primitive Churches any member who had "a gift" might exercise his gift, whether it were native to him or "miraculous," for the benefit of the congregation. There were teachers who were set apart for the work of the ministry, and no doubt there was an order of service; but this order was very elastic, and lent itself easily to any changes that were deemed beneficial. Teaching was not *limited* to those who were recognised as ministers of the Word. "When ye come together" for worship, says St. Paul to the Corinthians, "*every one* of you hath a psalm, hath a teaching, hath a revelation, hath a tongue, hath an interpretation," and proceeds to bid them speak in turn, that there may be

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no disorder in the Church, and that all things may be done unto edification.

St. James wrote to the Jews of the Dispersion, to men who, though they were Christians, were also Jews; to men, therefore, in whom the habits formed in the synagogue would be familiar and dear. They would feel that they, each one of them, had a right to speak in church; and probably, as men are more apt to think of their rights than of their duties, they did not sufficiently consider that it is worth no man's while to speak unless he has something to say. Probably many of them were too eager to hear their own sweet voices, and too reluctant to listen to other voices than their own. Not improbably, rivalries and contentions grew up among them, the spirit of faction and strife; so that two or three would be speaking at the same time, and the seemly order of worship was broken with unseemly brawls. All that we know both of the Jews and of the Christians of that time renders it only too likely that there was special need of the exhortation, "*Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath.*" Nor are *we* so docile, so meek and teachable, that we can afford to put aside the exhortation as though it had no warning for us.

But the exhortation is introduced by the word "wherefore"—a word which refers us to the previous clause of the letter, or to some phrase in it, for an answer to the question, "*What* is it that every man is to be swift to hear?" It is "the word of truth," as we learn from the previous verse. This word is quick, *i.e.* it is *living* and powerful; and, because it has so great a power of life in it, it is also *life-giving*. It is by this word that we are "begotten," renewed in the spirit of our minds, made alive again from the dead, quickened into a new and higher life. Should we not, then, be eager to hear the word that gave us life, and that can give us "more life and fuller"? If we owe, as

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I think we do owe, every access of spiritual energy to a clearer and larger perception of God's will as revealed in His word, should we not very gladly take some pains to enlarge our knowledge of that Word, to acquaint ourselves with those portions of it of which we are still ignorant, and to lay hold with a firmer grasp of the truths we already know?

But if we would be "swift to hear," we must be "slow to speak": so at least St. James implies, and that not without reason. Those whose tongues run fast have but dull ears, and are apt to lose the benefit of even the little to which they listen. If you are talking with a man who is uneasy unless he is speaking himself, he simply lies in wait for any suggestion your words may carry, is for ever breaking in upon you with abrupt utterances which have no true relation to the matter in hand, commenting on what you have said before he comprehends it, flying off at every touch to the very ends of the earth, and wearing out your patience before you have half expressed your thought. He does not want to hear you; you can see that he is not thinking of what you say, even when he is silent, but of what *he* shall say next; he wants you to hear him, although very probably he has nothing worth saying to say. We must all know men—yes, *men*—with whom it is almost impossible to converse. They do not want to be talked *with*, and still less talked *to*; they want to talk. In fine, they are too swift to speak to be swift to hear.

Of this general fact, that he who would be quick to hear must be in no hurry to speak, St. James makes a particular application which may not at once commend itself to our judgment. For as it is the word of truth that he would have us eager to hear, so also, I suppose, it is the same word that he would have us slow to utter.

"But is it not our duty to speak the truth by which we ourselves have been renewed?"

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Well, yes, if we are strong enough and wise enough to speak it wisely, and without injury to ourselves or to others. But a man may speak, and yet not be swift or eager to speak. And a wise man will be very sure that he knows before he speaks, and *so* knows his theme as to be able to teach others. The men to whom St. James wrote were not very wise. A whole new world of truth had been opened to them by the Gospel of Christ; they had to revise and to readjust all their former conceptions of truth and duty. When the same wonderful revelation broke on St. Paul, he, being a wise and even a learned man, retired into Arabia for three years, that he might meditate on it, and see for himself how the Law and the Gospel might be reconciled, how the old truth was carried to perfection in the new. And if other converts to the faith had been equally wise, if they had long pondered the truth as it is in Jesus in their hearts before they proclaimed it with their lips, every one of them would not have been quite so ready with his psalm, or his teaching, or his tongue, or his interpretation. The crude and false doctrines of the early Church—its Judaism, for example, and its Gnosticism—would not have clouded its mind or have split the "one body" into many fragments.

But some one may be saying: "Surely this is a warning for *ministers*, not for us who are laymen. It is *they* who now speak in church; we sit quiet enough."

Yes, it *is* a warning for ministers; but it is a warning which you need to lay to heart no less than they, and perhaps even more than they. Because some of you, who have long been thoughtful disciples of Christ, are a great deal too slow to speak, you demand that *they* should speak a great deal more and oftener than is good either for them or for you.

But it does not follow that, because you are slow, and too slow, to speak, that you are swift, or so swift as you

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should be, to hear. Nor does it follow that, because you utter no audible words in church, that you therefore say nothing. You may sit composed in an attitude of decent or devout attention while the minister of the Church tries to open up some word of truth, and yet all the while you may be saying in your hearts, "How am I to meet that bill?" or "For whom shall I vote? and how will the election go?" or, "I wonder whether I shall meet So-and-so after service?" or, "I wonder how the servants, or the baby, are getting on at home?" or even, "When will the man have done, and let us get away to dinner?" Your lips may frame no words, and yet you may sit talking and commenting in your hearts, criticising what is said, or applying it to your neighbours rather than to yourselves, and so show yourselves slow to hear the word of truth.

So far it is easy to trace the meaning and connexion of St. James's words. But when he goes on to add, "slow to *wrath*," we naturally ask if quick speech is in any way connected with quick anger. And we have hardly asked the question before we see the answer to it. Hasty speech is a sign of a hasty spirit. And in a synagogue, or a church, in which many men are anxious to air their gifts, rivalries and controversies are sure to ensue. One will be angry because his neighbour, no wiser than himself, presumes to teach him, and will soon detect error in the words to which he so impatiently listens. And the hearts of men soon grow hot within them when once these controversies have arisen. It has often been said, indeed, that no controversies are so bitter, or are conducted in language so personal and offensive, as religious controversies. *That* may fairly be doubted. Those who are familiar with the language that has passed between rival scholars in their disputes over the various readings and interpretations of classical texts, or even between rival men

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of science, will hesitate before they admit that language more offensive, or a spirit more bitter, can be found anywhere. But it must be confessed that nowhere is bitterness and personality so unseemly as it is in *religious* controversy; and that here, quite as often as elsewhere, those who have been quick to speak have also been quick to wrath.

From this angry discussion of disputed points, which so often springs from our undue haste to speak, St. James dissuades us by an argument as kindly as it is cogent. He tacitly concedes that what we are really concerned for is "the righteousness of God," that what we aim at in our disputes and controversies is that God's righteous will may be taught and done. And this is really a very large and generous concession. For though, when we engage in them, we may care more that truth should prevail than that we should achieve a logical victory, yet who does not know how soon our self-love is enlisted in the service, and we come to care far more for our own triumph than for that of the truth, and to secure that triumph may even sacrifice the very principles for which we profess to contend?

It is very generous and kindly of St. James, then, to admit simply that what we really care for is the righteousness of God. And surely he is speaking plain good sense when he warns us that "*man's wrath worketh not God's righteousness*," that our anger can in no way contribute to the formation or the cultivation of a righteous character, whether in ourselves or in our neighbours. Anger is itself unrighteous; and how can unrighteousness contribute to righteousness? Love is the very essence and crown of righteousness, for to be right with God and man is to love God with all our heart and our neighbour as ourself; and how can wrath promote love? Anger alienates, wrath excites resentment; and however true the principles for

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which we contend may be, if we contend for them in a hot and angry spirit, we may only gain our victory to lose our brother: and that is but a poor barter at the best. But we *may* do even worse than that. While contending for the righteousness of God, we may become unrighteous by giving way to wrath, and cause our brother to lose his righteousness by provoking *him* to wrath. We do become unloving, and therefore unrighteous, when we contend with one another, even for a good cause, in these evil heats of passion.

Such heats of passion in no way contribute to the culture of the soul. They are bad husbandry. They breed only a foul and rank growth which quickly over-runs and impoverishes the soil, and amid which no "herb of grace," no plant of righteousness, will thrive. If we are wise husbandmen, if we aim at that perfection of character which the Apostle holds to be our chief good, we shall clear the soil of these evil growths; we shall cut them down and burn them up, and so make room for the implantation of that word of truth which brings forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness.

This is the last thought of St. James, or the last with which we have now to deal. As he conceives the case, our heart is like a garden plot, or rather, an orchard plot, in which, if there be some good and fruitful trees, there is a rank undergrowth of weeds and briers. If the whole plot is to become fruitful, nay, if the good plants are not to be choked by the quicker growths of evil, we must root these up, clear the entire soil of them. Instead of hastily and angrily contending for the truth we have received, or boasting how much more and better fruit our little plot yields than that of any of our neighbours, we should rather pluck up the weeds and briers which have taken root in it, and receive with meekness any new truths which may break out upon us from the Word.

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Do any ask: "But what does the parable mean? Put it into plain prose."

It means that, if we are wise and seek to please God, we shall cherish a meek and gentle spirit, instead of an angry spirit, quick to take and give offence. It means that, instead of seating ourselves in the chair of authority, and "dealing damnation round" the Church, we shall sit at the feet of Christ, and learn of Him who was meek and lowly of heart. It means that, instead of thrusting ourselves into forms of service for which we are not qualified, we shall be happy to fill well a lowly place. It means that, in lieu of rushing in where angels fear to tread, and being quick and sudden of quarrel with those who differ from our conclusions, we shall be eager to learn of any who can teach us, and give credit to as many as differ from us for a sincerity and a love of truth equal to our own.

S. Cox.

CANDIDATES FOR DISCIPLESHIP.

(Luke ix. 57–62.)

The circumstance which called out these sudden protestations of discipleship was simple enough. Wearied with His forenoon of miracle-working, followed by an afternoon of loud speaking from the boat to the crowds on shore in an atmosphere close and thundery, portending the storm that followed, our Lord proposed to cross over to the wild eastern shore of the lake, and so for a time get quiet from the pressure of the busy western shore. It was the collection of parables regarding the kingdom of heaven, which Matthew has grouped in his thirteenth chapter, which our Lord had uttered during the afternoon. He then went for a little into the house, and it was when He came out in the

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evening to cross the lake, that this scribe, apparently a man of warm, impulsive nature, who had been much moved by the grand revelation of truth made in the parables, avowed his inability to stay away from Jesus, and his purpose to follow Him.

The scribe's ardent protestation our Lord met with a sedative if not chilling rejoinder: "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay His head." Whether this ominous utterance quenched the zeal of the scribe or not, we are not told. If he persisted in following, then during the next two hours, when the heavy sea was thundering into the half-decked boat, possibly he wished himself well back among his books in his quiet room at Capernaum, and might steal round by land back to his own home as soon as they touched the shore. But it may have been quite otherwise, and this unnamed disciple may have had not only impulse to prompt profession, but courage, steadfastness, and devotion to carry through his resolve. The incident is told, not for the sake of any special interest attaching to the individual, but because our Lord's treatment of him was typical, representative of His treatment of a class of people.

Here then was a man who was sincere but somewhat hasty. He was the kind of man who leaps before he looks —by no means the worst kind of man, and very decidedly better than the man who neither leaps nor looks. He was a man of impulse. Now impulse has a most important function in life to discharge.

"Moments there are in life—alas! how few!—
When, casting cold, prudential doubts aside,
We take a generous impulse for our guide,
And, following promptly what the heart thinks best,
Commit to providence the rest;
Sure that no after-reckoning will arise
Of shame or sorrow, for the heart is wise.

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And happy they who thus in faith obey
Their better nature: err sometimes they may,
And some sad thoughts lie heavy in the heart,
Such as by hope deceived are left behind;
But like a shadow these will pass away
From the pure sunshine of the peaceful mind."

But there is also a danger in acting on impulse. And the danger, as every one knows, of acting on impulse is that we commit ourselves to a kind of conduct we cannot maintain, to positions in life that become thoroughly distasteful to us. It is a very frequent mistake among men; and indeed it is a very great part of wisdom to know for what we are fit, to know our own mind, and to anticipate the future we make for ourselves by taking certain steps. The misery and failure which men bring into their own lives and the lives of others in great part arise from acting on impulse without any consideration proportioned to the serious nature of the issues. Young men choose professions so, and great talents are often lost by the idle predilection of a youthful way of looking at things. We swear eternal friendship to persons whom we would, without regret, ten or twenty years after, pass on the street without recognition. Persons who are attracted to a cause by anything which tells on their merely superficial likings are apt to prove most dangerous to it in the long run. They are like bad bolts in a ship; when the storm comes they are no good, but give way at once and bring disaster on the whole.

Now a person who is naturally impulsive will be so in his religious actings as elsewhere. He will fail to weigh the tremendous issues of becoming a disciple of Christ. He will run into the matter heedlessly. He will not anticipate and make quite present to his mind the kind of life he is committing himself to. He will not look at the matter all round, in every light, from every point of view. He never reflects, never says, *Why* am I doing this? What does it

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involve? What will come of it? He does not give as much resultful thought to this matter as a serious-minded man will give to the question whether he should send his son to a day-school or a boarding school. Nay, some men are less considerate about religion than they are about secular matters, so that it comes to pass that a person will sometimes give less earnest, eager, business-like consideration to the matter of professing Christ, than he gives to the question whether he will accept some situation that has turned up, or some offer that has been made him.

But the man here spoken of was not inconsiderate from indifference, but because the whole matter was settled with him out of hand. He had real, warm feelings towards Christ, an ardour that is much to be desired in these days. The man, at all events for the time, felt that his happiness lay in maintaining an acquaintance, friendship, connexion with Jesus Christ. He could not let Him out of his sight. "If you go across the sea, I must go too." It is painful to throw cold water on the ardent. One would gladly leave to any other the task of abruptly pulling up such a person in the midst of his zealous professions; and it must have been especially painful for our Lord to seem to discourage one who was professing so warm an attachment to Himself. But there was that in the man which showed our Lord that he needed a test, needed something laid before his mind which would shed clearer light on the results of his profession. He proposes the test suitable to his position in life. To the fishermen, used to spend nights in an open boat on the treacherous Sea of Galilee, the want of shelter of which our Lord here speaks might not have seemed the hardest part of Christ's lot; but the scribe was accustomed to softer living.

The homelessness of the follower of Christ is therefore but one side of the more general truth, that whoever becomes Christ's friend must share in His experience. This

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is the thought He desires to introduce into the mind of every one who, with too little consideration of consequences, approaches Him with a profession of discipleship. Attachment to Christ must result and does result in sharing His experience. This is as much a law of the Christian life now as ever it was. Christ is the same person still, of the same mind and spirit, with the same disregard of outward and earthly comforts, the same magnanimous superiority to everything, however delightful, which hinders God's service and the attainment of high spirituality. And if we mean anything rational in attaching ourselves to Him, we mean that we desire to become of one mind with Him, to have the same comparative estimate of spiritual and fleshly pleasures, of this world's gains and of things eternal.

And there is no genuine Christian who cannot show in detail how his attachment to Christ has made his experience in this world to resemble the experience of Christ. They can point to passsges at least in their life, if not to some long-continued thread running all through it, in which their experience in the world has borne a striking resemblance to that of Christ, and has done so because of their conscious and deliberate cleaving to Christ and His will. There is not a man who has lived for ten years in the spirit of Christ who cannot tell you with perfect distinctness of several things he has abandoned which he would otherwise have most dearly liked to possess—things, some of them, which once seemed quite as necessary to him as a fixed and well-roofed house.

But everybody knows that many persons take upon them to say that they are the deeply attached friends of Christ, who have not considered where this friendship may carry them. They have thought more of the claims they may make on Christ than of the claims He may make on them. They look at this friendship as a one-sided thing, and forget that all friendship involves sacrifice of self, and the deeper

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the friendship the more influential on the life it is. And because men thus deceive themselves, therefore does Christ here state the case so plainly. Here are the terms of discipleship, which no one need misunderstand. In following Christ we become partners with one whose aims are all spiritual, who holds in abhorrence all that thwarts these aims, all self-indulgence, all such absorption in the world's interests as blinds to the true uses of the world. In proposing to follow Christ we propose to share the experience of One who despises comforts and ease, who has a great work in hand, for which He sacrifices everything. We propose to share the fortunes of One whose treasure was in heaven, and who had no sympathy with the usual objects on which men spend themselves.

2. Our Lord has a fresh method for each individual. One man He retards, another He quickens. There is no mechanical form of appeal, no urging the same action on every one.

The next man our Lord addressed was of quite a different type. He was standing listening to the Lord's conversation, but not making any profession. He was a man who needed encouragement and stimulus rather than checking. In him, whether by previous acquaintance or present discernment, our Lord sees the stuff of which disciples are made, and therefore utters the determining words, "Follow Me." But when thus abruptly summoned, the man hangs back, and pleads that he may first go and bury his father. That is to say, he wishes to live with his father till he dies, and then he will be free from family claims. Had his father been already dead, he could not have been in the crowd, for burial in the East takes place on the day of death. And our Lord could not have refused so natural a request had the father been already lying dead. The man, in fact, is a representative of a large class of people, who feel themselves good enough for business and family life, but

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not good enough for the kingdom of God. When they hear Christ's call, they wish to yield to it, but they feel as if their place were rather in the ordinary ways and observances of life. They have Christian conviction, attachment to Christ, good impulses; but either from native shyness and modesty and fear of failure, or from a misconception of duty, they will not appear as promoters of Christ's kingdom, and prefer to abide in the domestic and social duties of their station.

What our Lord has to say, then, to such persons is, "Let the dead bury their dead." Let those who have no spiritual life attend to those duties that need none. Leave the common duties of life, as much as possible, to those who have no fitness as yet for the higher duties; but go thou, My follower, and preach the kingdom. You are urgently needed for this work; other things will be done whether you do them or not. The surgeon, short-handed on the field of battle, and with men bleeding their life away lying thick around him, will not suffer his assistants to spend their time carrying the dead to the rear while every skilled brain and hand is needed to save life. So our Lord lays His hand on this departing disciple, and claims him for higher work than anointing the dead and weeping over hopeless clay. And considering our Lord's tenderness of feeling and delicate sympathy with the sorrow of man, woman, and child, considering how often He stood in defence of those who were misunderstood, and how in pity for the bereaved He again and again restored to them their dead, no more striking proof could be given of His intense longing for the salvation of the living than this apparent undervaluing of filial affection and natural duty.

The principle underlying the Lord's words is obvious. He who follows Christ must abandon works that others can do as well as Christians, and must devote himself to such works as none but Christians can do or will do. No doubt

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this is a hard saying for every man who accepts it candidly as spoken by His Lord to him. But can we make less of the words? It is Christ's law of economy. In His kingdom every man must be in his right place, and his gifts must be utilized to the utmost. There must be no "village Hampdens" or "mute, inglorious Miltons." The born statesman must not be left to follow the plough, nor the genius that can plan campaigns be buried in some base employment that a machine can do better than a man. Such an economy every man, as he grows into life, finds he must employ on his own account. He is pressed to do work which he knows will prevent him from doing what he thinks more needful. He is offered promotion that seems attractive, but he declines it, because he is sure it will prevent him from achieving the work to which he is devoted. And our Lord says, "If you are My follower, this consideration must always be in your calculations, how you can effect most for My kingdom, of which you are a part."

The honest heart will rightly interpret this principle and rightly apply it. It does not call every man to go and preach the kingdom and do nothing else. It does not summon us to abandon the ordinary customs and ways of life. But it does say to each of us, Consider well how you can be most useful. This that you are asked to do, will it not be quite as well done though you give yourself to other work? In your case you have not only to ask, "Must somebody do this thing?" you have also to ask, "Can my strength not be better spent in doing something else?" It is not a sufficient reason for your engaging in some enterprise or work, that some one must do it. There are many things which need to be done in the world, but on the doing of which you do not need to spend a Christian. Here is a case which often occurs. A man has given ten or twenty of the best years of his life to acquire scholarship or

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familiarise himself with science or philosophy; but at length he finds that it is not with these instruments he can best serve Christ, and that if his conscience is to be clear and his life serviceable to its utmost, he must abandon all he has so laboured to acquire, and resign the pleasure, the respect, the hope these acquirements have won. He sees that there are things which will be done, if not by him, then by others: just as men will not leave a dead body lying in their streets, so will they not fail to pursue those branches of knowledge which attract natural taste or yield the fruit of new comforts to the community. And this fact must enter your calculations. You must not, with a false modesty which is really want of faith in Christ, confine yourself to employments which can be done quite as well by those who have no spiritual life; and you must not shirk employments which require spiritual life. In a word, you must be sure you are spending the life you receive from your connexion with Christ to the best account.

This principle has become extremely difficult to apply, because in one way or other we become so entangled in the net of society and are enslaved to the world. Young men are comparatively free, and, like this young man to whom our Lord spoke, they are standing at a critical point in life, where they may make the right or the wrong choice. A young man may be conscious of natural advantages which fit him to compete successfully for what are considered the prizes of life. He is however bound, before committing himself to an exhausting business or laborious career such as the world offers, to consider whether he cannot in some other, though less pleasant and more obscure walk, serve Christ's kingdom better. It is not attractive to look forward to the unrecognised life of a mediocre preacher or only moderately successful worker in Christ's kingdom; but a life that proceeds on an unselfish motive is sure to come to greater happiness than that which is formed by selfishness. And

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what Christ said to this young man He says to all, "Throw in your lot with what is alive in the world and advancing: do not spend yourself on what will shortly be buried out of sight. You are living men: put your life into what will go on and endure."

3. The third candidate for discipleship was of still another type. When Elisha was called by Elijah, he made the same request as this man, "Let me, I pray thee, kiss my father and my mother, and then I will follow thee." This request was granted to Elisha, but not to this disciple; or, if granted, it was granted under warning that his home affections might prove too strong for the attractions of discipleship. From the terms in which this warning is couched, we must suppose that this disciple was of a somewhat soft and irresolute nature, easily moved, and not steady in his attachments. "No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." Elisha was at the plough when called, and perhaps Christ had the scene in His mind's eye, and thence borrowed the figure. Its meaning is apparent. The plough needs undivided attention; foot, hand and eye are always on the strain. You cannot even walk straight for a few yards if you turn your head to look behind you, still less can you draw a straight furrow. So, says our Lord, the man who looks back to what he is leaving is not well-adapted, not the right kind of workman for the kingdom of God. Looking back with regret on anything from which we are sundered by attachment to Christ unfits us for following Him. Success in any work depends on our giving ourselves wholly and heartily to it; not revising our choice, not casting longing, lingering looks behind. The husband expects of his wife that she will leave father and mother and cleave to him, fonder of her parents than ever, but never regretting the choice she has made, nor showing by tears and listlessness that her heart is still in her old home. And as Christ

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means to abide by His choice of us, He expects that we shall abide by our choice of Him.

And for some natures there is nothing for it but a complete and sudden severance from attachments, occupations, amusements in which other men may safely indulge. They must turn the back on many things without even a parting kiss. Old associations will ensnare and enthrall them if they do not put themselves beyond their reach by a sudden, dogged, and speedy departure. And certainly sin must be fled abruptly. The disposition we find in ourselves to treat it as an old friend must be crushed. If for Christ, this pearl of price, we have to sell many other pearls, let us count the cost; but having once made our bargain, let us stick to it.

How far then can we say that we have driven the plough for Christ? How many furrows can we show that we have drawn without once looking back? How is it with us? Are we so captivated by Christ and the work He gives us to do that we never dream of looking back? Are we so absorbed in the life of the kingdom that we have no room in our heart for regrets and longings for what we have left behind? Let us at least be sincere with ourselves, and understand whether we have so much as put our hand to the plough. Has the Christian aspect of life a charm for us? and do we give ourselves heartily to the future Christ guides us to, not sorry to leave behind us the pomps and vanities, the indulgences and pleasures, the sinful excitements and wicked satisfactions of the godless world? Is Christ enough? Is His friendship the sufficient compensation, the ceaseless inducement?

When we profess to be followers of Christ, we say to all whom it concerns, to ourselves and to Christ, that we mean to make something of our discipleship, to be His man; we put our hand to the plough as if intent on work, we stand forward as if we meant to take a new direction in life and make a different use of life. Does our life justify

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this profession? Does our life show that the person of Christ truly draws us, that in His direction *all* our hope lies, that we are well rid of all He leads us away from?

If then we would be Christ's followers, we must be prepared to make His experience ours, His work our work, His person our all. In other words, we must be prepared to be unworldly, consecrated, devoted. In attaching ourselves to Christ, we attach ourselves to one who held the common prizes and gains of this world absolutely cheap, and who was scarcely conscious of hardship while absorbed in spiritual aims. This is the experience we propose to make our own. He bids us also economise our time, and spend ourselves on what belongs to the kingdom. And in His kingdom and Himself He would have us find our all.

MARCUS DODS.

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NOTE ON ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΙ IN 2 CORINTHIANS X.

I THINK I may assume that the frequent occurrence of the word λογίζεσθαι in this passage, and the bearing of this recurrence on the interpretation to be given to λογισμοί in ver. 5, have failed to attract the notice of expositors. I venture to write without consulting the most recent commentaries on this Epistle; but it can hardly be a work of supererogation to call attention to a feature which was evidently not observed by the Revisers of the English New Testament.

The sentences in which the word occurs are thus rendered in the Revised Version: "I beseech you, that I may not when present shew courage with the confidence wherewith I *count* to be bold against some, which *count* of us as if we walked according to the flesh" (ver. 2); "if any man trusteth in himself that he is Christ's, let him *consider* this again with himself, that, even as he is Christ's, so also are we" (ver. 7); "let such a one *reckon* this, that, what we are in word by letters when we are absent, such are we also in deed when we are present" (ver. 11). That the Revisers did not render the word uniformly is in any case rather surprising; but it may be taken for certain that, if they had thought there was anything pointed in St. Paul's use of it, they would have given the same English for it throughout. "Reckon" is the most obvious equivalent for λογίζεσθαι: and there seems to be no reason why we should not read, "I *reckon* to be bold against some who *reckon* of us"; "let him *reckon* this again with himself"; "let such a one *reckon* on this." And then it would be congruous to render λογισμούς by "reckonings."

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians is full of traces of extraordinary excitement. The whole composition becomes luminous in the light of a partly hypothetical, but nearly

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certain, explanation of the circumstances which occasioned it. They seem to have been as follows :

Not long before he left Ephesus, St. Paul had sent Timothy to Macedonia and Corinth (Acts xix. 22, 1 Cor. xvi. 10). Timothy had found the Corinthian society painfully disturbed. Some persons had arrived at Corinth who brought with them credentials from the Jerusalem apostles, and had been impugning the authority of St. Paul. Their statements had shaken the loyalty of his converts and friends. One man had stood forward as the leader of the movement against St. Paul. He and others had said many disparaging things about the absent apostle ; they had dwelt on his want of credentials, had spoken lightly of his personal powers, had put wrong constructions on some of his acts, and had charged him with self-seeking. Timothy had hastened back with the melancholy tidings of this revolt, and had met his master at Troas. St. Paul immediately despatched Titus, a disciple of more strength of character than Timothy, with a sharp and threatening letter to Corinth. The letter had not long been gone before St. Paul began to wish he had not written in such anger. But the letter produced its effect upon the Corinthians. Their self-reproachful sorrow was great. They put the chief blame on the leader of the shameful attack, whom they denounced and repudiated (2 Cor. ii. 5–8, vii. 11). Meanwhile St. Paul had come on, in a very restless and unhappy state of mind, from Troas into Macedonia. There Titus met him with the good news of the repentance of the Corinthian believers ; and St. Paul poured out his feelings at once in a letter which he sent forward to precede his own arrival—this Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

The letter exhibits a tumult of contending emotions. Wounded affection, joy, self-respect, hatred of self-assertion, consciousness of the authority and importance of his ministry, scorn of his opponents, toss themselves like waves,

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sometimes against each other, on the troubled sea of his mind. And accordingly the letter abounds in the rhetoric of passion. There are two kinds of rhetoric—the artificial kind, which is cold and tiresome; and that which heated feelings throw out, the foam of agitation. Strong language, not seldom stronger than the occasion seems to warrant, figurative expressions, abrupt turns, phrases seized and flung at his assailants, words made up, iterated, played upon, mark this Epistle far more than any other of the apostle's letters. All these features will shew themselves plainly to a reader who is on the look-out for them. Even the calmer parts of the letter are influenced as to their style by the emotion which breaks out in the more vehement.

The tenth chapter begins with a soft note; but, as the image of his assailants presents itself to the writer's mind, his feelings quicken, and he becomes somewhat bitter and defiant. He welcomed back the remorseful Corinthians to his heart, but he was not inclined to spare his detractors. The word λογίζομαι is not an uncommon one with St. Paul; on the contrary, it belongs to the characteristic Pauline phraseology. But there is something obtrusive in the use of it here. The repetition of it in the second verse, and the double defiance expressed in it in the seventh and eleventh verses, seem to shew that St. Paul used it in a meaning way. This use of the word will be explained, if we suppose that St. Paul was taking up an expression which had been repeated to him, and by which he had been displeased. One of his assailants may have said that he "reckoned" this or that to be the case about St. Paul. Some such observation causes St. Paul to fasten on the phrase. "Some of you, I hear, 'reckon' of me, as if I walked after the flesh, as having the motives and the ways of the carnal man. I, for my part, 'reckon' that I will proceed against such persons with a power which they

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will not be able to resist. The weapons of my warfare are not carnal. The power of God is with me, to cast down 'reckonings' and whatever sets itself up on high against the knowledge of God, and to take every thought captive to the obedience of Christ. Yes, I am prepared to punish all disobedience. If any one is confident in himself that he is Christ's, let him 'reckon' that I am Christ's as much as he is. Some one has told you that though my letters are strong, my bodily presence is weak and my speech of no account: let him 'reckon' on this, that I will act as strongly as I write."

A little further on (xi. 5) the word occurs again; and it seems probable that we may class this use of it also with those which have just preceded it. "I 'reckon' that I am not a whit behind those superlative apostles" (*τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων*). It is more doubtful whether a further use of it, in xii. 6, is suggested by any remnant of the irritated feeling. "I forbear, lest any one should 'reckon' as to me (*εἰς ἐμὲ λογίσηται*, should account of me, R.V.) above that which he seeth me to be or heareth of me."

There are two other places in this Epistle in which the word *λογίζεσθαι* occurs. In v. 19 it has obviously that simple sense of "reckoning" in which it is so frequently used in the Epistle to the Romans. But this sense has not been usually given to *λογίσασθαι* in iii. 5. Here it has been commonly supposed to mean the exercise of the mind on spiritual subjects. The Authorized Version has, "not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves"; and the apostle has been generally understood to be protesting that he was not sufficient of himself to do any of the thinking or reasoning of his apostolic ministry, that his teaching was not his own, but God's. And no doubt *λογισμούς* in x. 5, rendered "imaginations" or "reasonings," has been held to confirm this interpretation. But the Revised Version has "not that we are sufficient of

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ourselves, to account anything as from ourselves"; where the comma must be intended to guard the reader against making "to account" depend upon "sufficient." St. Paul, according to this amended translation, says, "not that of myself I am sufficient (for my ministry), that anything I do should be reckoned as from myself." It will be found, I think, that everywhere in the New Testament λογίζεσθαι preserves its sense of "reckoning" or "taking account."

J. Llewelyn Davies.

ZECHARIAH.

Our subject is the prophecy of Zechariah. We know, from the title prefixed to the book, the exact period when the prophet lived and worked. It was in the second year of Darius, son of Hystaspes as he is usually called, to distinguish him from Darius the Persian, who lived a century later that "the word of the Lord" came to him. Judæa was then under the dominion of this Darius. The community of Jews at Jerusalem had only just returned from their exile in Babylon, and they were engaged in rebuilding their old homes, and bringing their old lands and farms into cultivation again. At that period, about 520 B.C., two prophets appeared. Haggai, probably the older man, was one of them; Zechariah was the other. We do not know very much about those two men. They are both mentioned, and with honour, in the Book of Ezra, as true prophets. All that is told of Zechariah in the book which bears his name is that he was "the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo." In the Book of Ezra there is "Zechariah the son of Iddo," and Berechiah is entirely passed over. But there cannot be a shadow of a doubt that both passages refer to the same man. The likelihood is that Berechiah died early, and possibly never became

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the head of the house. And so, in the Book of Ezra, the prophet is spoken of as the son of his grandfather Iddo. We also know that he belonged to a priestly family, and that goes some way to account for the extraordinary interest he took in the Temple and in the priesthood. Beyond these simple facts we do not know anything about the man.

From the writings of Zechariah we gather with a great deal of probability that he himself was born in Babylon; that he lived in that foreign land; that he became acquainted with its imagery, its temples and pictures, and the statuary of its varied worship; that he was familiar with its laws and its institutions, and with the whole organization and administration of the Persian power. Moreover, it is extremely probable that at least the imagery in which he clothes his faith about the unseen world is imagery largely suggested and moulded by certain of the doctrines of the Persian religion. That applies to some of the visions we have to study, particularly to the parts in which Satan is introduced.

I come now to the Book of Zechariah. As we find the book in our Bibles—and, of course, also in our Hebrew Bibles—it appears as one book, and purports to have all been produced by the prophet whose name stands at the head of it, Zechariah son of Berechiah, son of Iddo. But, as a matter of fact, for more than a century now, the great majority of educated commentators, of Christian scholars, both the freethinking and the most orthodox, have been agreed that the whole of the book was not written by one man; that, in fact, we have in it the writings of two men; even, more probably, of three different men, and these living at very different times. No one reading the book through with any care can fail to perceive the reason there is for doubting the continuity of the work.

The first eight chapters stand by themselves, with a

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clear-cut character both in the language and in the thought, and in all the little references and circumstances that accompany the prophecy. The moment you pass away from the eighth chapter, and as you go on to the end of the fourteenth, you feel yourself in another atmosphere, in another world. Even in our English Bible, as we all must have felt, the language is different. It is a different literary style we are touching and tasting in the second half. In that second half there is another great breach of continuity—a wide chasm that you have to jump over. The first three chapters in that half, *viz.* chaps. ix., x., and xi., make a group by themselves. Again, chaps. xii., xiii., and xiv. make a collection that stands by itself. Distinctions there are, much more minute. To appreciate them fully one would require to read the book in Hebrew. But still, a great many of them are quite evident as soon as they are pointed out. The consequence is, that a vast number of scholars hold that we have here the writings of two prophets. Others, again, say that you have the writings of three.

But it may be asked, how, first of all, did the idea spring into existence that our Book of Zechariah is a combination, a partnership? It was a very learned and devout Englishman, Joseph Meade, who remarked, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, a passage quoted out of our Book of Zechariah, which is said to have been spoken by the prophet Jeremiah. That good man held a very rigid and orthodox theory of inspiration—a theory very common still. He was persuaded that Matthew, being inspired, could not make a mistake; that if Matthew quoted that passage as being from the prophecy of Jeremiah, then the chapter in which it stood belonged to Jeremiah, and not to Zechariah: therefore, said he, those Jewish rabbis who made up the canon of our Old Testament have blundered, and have put into the prophecies of Zechariah an utterance of Jeremiah.

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Some other good men felt that he was right, and so there came to be a general impression that our Book of Zechariah is not all of one piece: that it is a collection of different prophecies.

Then German scholars, who are so thoroughgoing, commenced to study the book, to see whether there were not other indications that it was not from the pen of one author. They detected all the differences and striking contrasts I have indicated to you. And so, before very long, nearly every scholarly man came to admit that the Book of Zechariah is not the production of one prophet.

Without going minutely into the evidence, there are certain great groups of arguments brought forward. First of all, there is a remarkable contrast in style. There are certain peculiar characteristic expressions in the first half of the book that do not occur in the second. The first section of it contains certain idioms, words used in a peculiar fashion, that do not appear in the latter portion. There is something more than that. The form is very different. The first half of the book is mostly written in plain prose; the second half is gorgeous oratory, glowing, impassioned, fiery, almost exaggerated in its impetus and imaginativeness. The literary imagery too is very different. The first half of the book is, practically and entirely, a chain of visions; and all through them there runs an explanation by an interpreting angel. As soon as you get into the second half that angel disappears, and you have splendid descriptions of great things that are going to happen. Again, the first half of the book has various portions headed by a minute statement of the date when they were uttered, giving even the day of the month and the year. The second half has not that kind of heading, but has a characteristic superscription of its own; *viz.*, "The burden of the word of the Lord." Now Malachi has a similar heading, and a great many of the best scholars think that

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Malachi was not the personal name of any man, but that it is simply a very ingenious catch-title appended to an anonymous prophecy. That suggests the idea that there were three prophetic utterances without the authors' names, and that, when the canon of the prophets was being completed, they were put on at the end together. Old Hebrew manuscripts were not divided into chapters and verses, and were not separated by leaving half a page blank. Parchment was too valuable for that. And so it would be easy to run additions, from a different hand, on to a book or work that had an author assigned to it.

But there are more substantial reasons still. The first half of the book presents us with a most graphic picture of its stage or platform. It moves entirely in the period of the rebuilding of the Temple. It gives us the name of Joshua the high priest, of Zerubbabel, and the names of other people living there and then. Every part of it is directly aimed to get the people to do their duty in connexion with the building of the Temple. The moment we take a step out of the last verse of the eighth chapter into the ninth we are far away at sea, we do not know where we are; we have lost sight of all the landmarks, and get into a thick fog. There is no portion of the Bible that so hopelessly puzzles commentators as that second half of Zechariah. Therefore I shall keep to the first half; it will be quite enough. For, as I have said, when we get into the second half of the book, and try to find any indication of the period in Israel's history to which it applies, there is most extraordinary discord. The first section of it, if we assume that actual occurrences are alluded to, would unmistakably belong to the period when Hosea was prophet: it is full of apparent references to the Northern kingdom, centuries back from the time of Zechariah. The second portion, again, contains almost unmistakable references, if they allude to actual events, and if they are not imagery—

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i.e. imaginative statements of the prophet's hopes at a later time—to the age of Jeremiah subsequent to the death of Josiah. But all such argumentation is very dubious; and here is a remarkable fact, that, just within the last ten or twelve years, there has been a sort of ebb of the tide. Previous to that time, nearly all scholarly commentators, with a rare exception here and there, said that the second half of the Book of Zechariah belonged to the early period of the history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Now a number of our leading critics are convinced that, instead of being earlier than the first half, prior to the Exile, it was written, not by our Zechariah, but by a prophet who lived a good deal later than he did; and they produce an ingenious and a remarkable argument to prove that. What it is I cannot now explain; but before taking up the first part, I will tell you the present position of opinion about the whole book. First of all, there are a very few scholars who contend that our Book of Zechariah is a unity—was all written by that Zechariah who lived throughout the rebuilding of the Temple. I think that very possible. Though they are so few, still their opinion may prevail in the end. I will tell you why. Scholarly commentators too often lack imagination. They deal with a prophet as if he were a mathematician or an historian. I do not think that justice has yet been done to the amount of imagination—inspired, daring, literary imagination; poetry, allegory, parable, imagery of every description—used in revealing God's truth. The second position is, that the first half was by Zechariah; that the second half was earlier, and that the two portions of this were both prior to the Exile. The third position is, that the whole is post-exilic; that the first half of it was written by the first Zechariah during the rebuilding of the Temple, and the second was produced either in the fifth or third century before Christ, or possibly in the second century before Christ. They are not agreed

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among themselves, these critics; but they are persuaded that that second half of the book relates to the fortunes and misfortunes of Israel after the time of Alexander, possibly even during the period of the Maccabees.

Henceforth we confine ourselves to the first half of the book, *viz.* the first eight chapters—a portion that is by everybody acknowledged to belong to the period immediately after the restoration; and first of all, I shall give a sketch of the history and try to make a picture of the position of Zechariah. Then I shall give a rapid analysis of the book; and, lastly, I shall endeavour to delineate the working of the man's soul and mind, and his faith and aspiration.

After remaining for nearly seventy years in captivity in Babylon, the Jews were suddenly brought face to face with the glorious hope of a restoration to their loved native land. The Persian king Cyrus overthrew the Babylonian empire; and, for some reason or another, he conceived great favour for the Jews. One of his earliest acts was to formulate a decree that gave them liberty to return to Judæa, to rebuild Jerusalem, and to restore their old Temple. Moreover, he granted them large sums of money out of the royal treasury and material from the arsenals. In the second half of Isaiah's prophecy, chapter after chapter glows with a great expectation of coming delivery for the Jews. It pictures how their return would be rendered easy to them. Foreign nations would bring their treasures; alien kings and monarchs would compete with one another to do God service; and the second Temple was to outshine in magnificence the splendid Temple of Solomon. The Jews had waited all those years, their hearts and souls filled with these magnificent hopes. As they saw Cyrus grow in power, as they felt the Babylonian imperial fabric tremble and begin to crumble away, and as at last they saw it overthrown, their hearts became exultant within them. Then came the climax of their expectations, when the Jews were

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singled out for a wonderful deliverance and for unexampled privilege on the part of the heathen monarch Cyrus.

But we must not suppose that the whole of the Jews in Babylon were eager to get back. The mass of them had built themselves houses and cultivated gardens; they had acquired wealth in that rich metropolis, and the last thing they felt an inclination to do was to sell everything and go back to poverty-stricken Judæa. Only dreamers, *i.e.* men of faith, patriotism, religion, enthusiasts or fanatics, as some would call them; men intoxicated with the glorious expectation of a magnificent career in the world's history, were prepared to make the sacrifice essential to their going back and re-establishing God's kingdom in the Land of Promise. The consequence was that a mere handful of the captive Jews returned, and when they reached Jerusalem they found the whole city a mass of ruins. They found their old farms and vineyards, their family estates, utterly fallen out of cultivation, covered with thorns and briars. Travellers tell us that in that country, unless the land is constantly looked after, it rapidly degenerates into complete sterility. To clear the ground and bring the land again into cultivation is, in these circumstances, a heart-breaking labour.

Then the Jews who returned were so very few and so helpless. But, it may be said, Cyrus had promised them magnificent grants out of the royal treasury. Yes; but a number of officials, with open palms, thought Cyrus was foolish to waste his money in this way. Consequently there arose all sorts of intrigues, reports of probable insubordination, and plots, and conspiracies, from the greed of these treasurers and the rest of them. And so the poor Jews hardly got anything of that which Cyrus had promised them, and on which they had counted. But, like all men who do a great and noble action, they were animated by a splendid, glowing enthusiasm. Without enthusiasm

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you can do nothing great and noble in this world. A prosaic, prudent, shrewd man, who says, "Stick to known facts," may look upon these enthusiasts as dreamers; but it is the dreamer that has done everything. What a dreamer Columbus was! and he discovered America. What a dreamer Martin Luther was! and what a dreamer was Newton! We have to allow something like a free hand and fair play to such people. Enthusiasm carried these Jews back to Jerusalem, and to illusions. They did not understand what a hard task they were taking up; they would never have done it if they had. Those Jews thought they were going to be helped in all sorts of ways, and were going to restore Jerusalem easily. In that they found themselves mistaken, and despondency laid hold of them. There does sometimes come a certain collapse of hope, vigour, and faith, when illusions vanish away, and all the difficulties of a task confront us, when weariness of body, sickness of heart, and uneasiness of mind beset us. The first thing these Jews thought they must do, when they returned, was to rebuild the Temple. Though they did make a start before long, it took so much labour and expenditure to build their own houses, and to cultivate their fields, that they had no money left to rebuild the Temple. And so, gradually, the great work was left alone, and this neglect continued probably for fifteen or sixteen years. It may be said, "No wonder! Who could blame them?" And yet they would have spoiled their whole career if they had settled down in apathy. And the reason is plain. There was this deadly danger: they were getting to care only for selfish and worldly ends. No community can ever come to anything unless animated by enthusiasm in some noble work, which makes men lift up their eyes from their own fields, and up to God's heaven, which causes their thoughts to soar away on into the future, in wonderful dreams for their children and children's children.

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These Jews would no doubt have got rapidly mixed up with the pagan people that had crowded into the country round about, unless they had remembered that they belonged to God, and had recollected that God had directed them back; that they were, there, God's kingdom on earth that it was God's city they were building; that it was God's Temple they were to erect; and that it was the faith of God and the love of God they were to make to shine in the world. If they had not remembered all that, their whole soul would have died out of them, and they would have fallen to the level of the poor heathen world. At that critical point, God's Spirit stirred two men to detect the danger, to rouse the leaders, and to animate the people to take up, with enthusiasm, their proper position in the world. Those two men were Haggai and Zechariah.

What makes a man a prophet to his own age? It is not the adamantine, unfaltering, absolute faith, put mechanically into him. A man of that kind is not in touch with his own time. The man that can speak to the shaking hearts and the faltering souls of his own generation must be a man who knows his own heart and soul, who has been troubled by the same difficulties that are troubling other men; a man who has fought out his own battle with life's enigmas, has faced the darkness and reached God's light through it. That is the man who is in sympathetic touch with the doubting, failing, faltering men that are round about him. Therefore we must interpret a prophet in that fashion. We must never think of a prophet as mechanically inspired, as not feeling the doubts he grapples with, as not tempted by the sins he denounces, as not knowing, himself, the depression and despair he battles against. He is a man of like passions with other men, tempted as they are, but by God's Spirit made victorious, triumphant, over dangers, obstacles, and difficulties; and so, out of his own experience, armed by a faith won by himself in actual con-

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flict, he can fight God's battle and become the leader of men.

Now if you take the prophecy of Zechariah, and try to feel for yourself just what the heart of his age needed to feel, you will find that each of these visions that flashed in upon his soul is simply the Divine triumph over a great doubt, or a great despair, or a painful, paralysing question.

There are seven pictures in the vision. First, horsemen, who are couriers, scouts sent out to gather information for the government. In a valley of Jerusalem the prophet sees these mysterious horsemen; he asks them for news, and they say all the world is quiet. The second is the picture of the four horns filed away by four smiths. This is the downfall of the world, or of the world-power hostile to God. The third is the surveyor. He is going to map out the walls of the Jerusalem that is to be rebuilt. It needs no wall. That passes on to a magnificent declaration that, in the glorious future, the nations will be gathered into obedience and loyalty to God. The fourth picture is the trial of the high priest; the fifth, the golden candlestick; the sixth, the flying roll, or national purification; the seventh, the woman in the ephah, an embodiment of wickedness and ungodliness: a splendid, artistic picture. These seven hold together, but the vision terminates in what really is a separate picture. What the prophet now sees is simply the break up that sends him to his work; that is, the vision of the chariots, the Divine chariots. Then follows the crowning of the head of the nation as *the Branch*. The civil head is Zerubbabel, and I think it is quite certain that, for some reason or other, Zerubbabel has been slipped out of the paragraph relating to the crowning. If you look at the wording very carefully, you will see that two men have been crowned. It does not stand to reason that two crowns would be put on one priest's head. It is almost certain that Zerubbabel also was crowned.

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Let us try to see how the thoughts, the subtle, pictorial thoughts, embodied in these images are precisely the inspirations that Zechariah's age needed in order to stir them to do their duty for God, and for God's kingdom on earth. The people had got enmeshed in the entanglements of mere external, earthly existence. Moreover there was nothing in the outside show of things to make it easy for them to believe that God had some great thing for them to do in the world. In every shape and fashion, in every portion of the secular and religious organizations, things were sordid, poor, and disheartening. For instance, they remembered those glorious declarations of Isaiah, of Jeremiah, and of Ezekiel, the prophets of the Exile, how God would make the world shake to its very foundations, to break down all hostilities against His people and His kingdom, how God would pour the treasures of the pagan people into the arsenals and the building enterprises of restored Jerusalem. With all those recollections in their hearts and minds, they looked round, and they saw the world utterly unconcerned about them; everything lying in ignoble heaps; nowhere any commerce, any custom. Robbed by the Samaritans of their poor harvest, and harried in their expeditions for timber or stone required for building, it looked to them as if this world were empty of God. I believe Zechariah felt the agony of that doubting and that questioning; and he wrestled with it. He awoke within himself by prayer, by noble aspirations, all that inner core of spiritual nature where God resides in every man; and so at last there comes to him, with all the power and vividness of vision, a revelation, suddenly, in the darkness of his age. Out of that great dumb, silent, inert world, from every quarter of the compass, there appeared mysterious, supernatural, Divine emissaries. All at once, beneath the poor, external, physical surface of this world, beneath all its ambitions and greeds and mere earthly endeavours and

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enterprises, the prophet felt the great controlling cords of God's interest in it. God cares for every part of the world; God holds all the reins of government in His hands; God keeps Himself informed of what is proceeding. It is not merely the poor community at Jerusalem, not merely Zechariah, that watches the hard, cold world. God at the centre, God come down there to Jerusalem, waits for news, eager as they were for the time to come when the whole world should be shaken as by earthquake, when all resistance to God's kingdom would be struck down, and when the city of God might be built once more on earth.

Here was a man who, by the power of his personality, by the grandeur of his character, by the strength and resistless conviction of his own soul, could pour out an impassioned story of a Divine vision like that, to people who did yet feel that God had spoken in the past, that God might still speak to them. Think of it, the inspiration, the enthusiasm there was in this sudden stripping off of the every-day surface of things, this making people feel that the world is pervaded by Divine interest, is held and moulded by the Divine will, and is being governed, all of it, for that very end and aim for which they have made sacrifices, for which they have suffered, and have been impoverished at Jerusalem, *viz.* the building up of God's kingdom on earth.

But then doubt arose. Looking at the tremendous bulk of those world-empires in their vast, gigantic strength; with their mighty military organizations and their overwhelming wealth; with their teeming cities and capitals; with their great kings; with their civilization; with their art and their learning: men would say, how can a poverty-stricken Jew, living in his own solitary little home amid those wasted ruins of old Jerusalem, one of a handful of despised people that cannot build their own Temple, how dare such a man believe that the world's future resides

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there, in that sordid, despicable, impoverished community, hiding in the ruins of their capital? The answer comes in that vision of the prophet, and it is this: "Do not look at mere physical bulk, at the imposing massiveness of material wealth or power, at the gigantic stature of immoral, godless civilizations, standing out like four great iron or brazen horns. Look rather at these invisible, awful, spectral forms that are slowly filing at these horns of the world's power and antagonism to God and to His kingdom." It meant the flashing into vision of the great law of God's government of this world; it meant that the world, in organization or in empire, rests upon a godless basis, that it exists for selfish, unjust, tyrannical ends, and is not advancing the world's real good. Those awful, subtle, moral energies of God's hatred—the hatred of that God who, through all the external organization of our world, is seeking righteousness, justice, holiness, ethical, spiritual being—are undermining and eating away the roots of the world-power, which suddenly totters and falls.

But, once again, a devout-hearted Jew looks round on those demolished walls, those vast, immeasurable ruins, those heaps of rubbish, where stately palaces formerly stood. He looks at the Temple, now with blackened, charred beams lying beneath overturned stones, all disfigured and overgrown with thistles. Despair comes into his heart, and he says, "Can it ever be built again?" Zechariah met that by an audacious grandeur of faith. "Built again? No; it shall not be built again. The new Jerusalem shall outstrip the old Jerusalem immeasurably. Walls? Why, no walls that man can build will hold that future city of God. Illimitable and immeasurable in its vastness, guarded by God, made to grow by God, dwelt in by God, towering above all structures, civilizations, and powers of this world, inhabited by God's Spirit, radiant with His holiness and the attraction of His just, righteous

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judgment; it shall dominate the world, and all the nations shall be gathered to it."

Yes; but once again, there is a doubt that comes to the heart of faith entered on a new life, dreaming of doing God's will. "Can the past be undone? What of that awful guilt, that entail of retribution, which grows out of sin, error, ignorance, transgression? Does not a man's poisoned, diseased, wicked past, dog him to the end, and drag him down? Can a great sinner be restored to such an acceptance with God that he dare hope to be God's servant, that he may lift up his eyes to a stupendous, Divine task, and count himself heaven's minister to do it?"

In that vision of the religious head and representative of the community, the high priest, the man who goes into the holy of holies once a year to make atonement that the nation may be accepted by God, how finely the Divine answer to that doubt is pictured! How the doubt figures first in this picture! The high priest and the hearers' hearts sink within them. The high priest stands before God's throne of judgment. The accused defendant is clad in defiled, torn, sordid garments. Over against him appears the power of all malignity, the power of all evil, the devil, who charges him with his past. Ah! how the people listen for the verdict! and they hear it in the voice of God: "Be thou rebuked that doubted whether a man can get rid of his guilty past, that doubted whether a man can be taken to be God's servant because of the years wasted that lie behind him!" That doubt comes not from the voice of God; no, but from the devil: hell is in it, and God's hand stretches forward to strike it down. Be silent, doubt of hell and of the devil: be silent for ever!

That accused, attacked, slandered, charged defendant, in his filthy, sordid garments, is he not, by his very presence there, by his existence, by his escape from death, from destruction, a brand plucked from the burning, charred,

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maimed, burned by the blunders of the past? Yes. But a brand plucked from the burning, that means a brand which has work in it, is capable of noble uses, is of value to its owner, to him who plucked it from the fire. O poor, restored Jewish community, doubting whether God means anything great for you; how came it that Cyrus delivered you? God plucked you out of the burning; but do you think that God would have done all that, if He had not a great future for you? They feel not man's power, but God's doing—God's grace begun in the worst of transgressors; and that is God's guarantee of heaven and of the whole of His kingdom.

Then we come to the second of those two series of visions, dealing with a different class of doubts from those in the first three visions. The next difficulty, a universal difficulty that we all experience, was this, to detect within frail, erring human personalities Divine powers and purposes. It is the tendency—so paralysing, and yet so difficult to withstand—to despise your present. We people the past with heroes. We dream of a future full of heroes. But how blind we are to the heroes of our own day and our own time! We drive them out. We think they are not worthy to be in the world. We persecute them. We crucify them, or we mock at them. It is only after they are dead and gone that we build their monuments. It is a universal blunder. It is a deadly error. We make it in our own homes; because of the homeliness of many a sweet virtue and true affection, and because of the faults and imperfections that attach to their embodiment, we often never know the government of God that is within it till it is gone from us. That was precisely the difficulty of the Jews. They looked at their high priest: his garments were not so splendid as those of Solomon's high priest; their high priest had no grand Temple, no splendid altar, no hecatombs of beasts. You see, it was not the high priest, nor the princes, that

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stirred the people to build the Temple; but it was two outsiders, two prophets. Those Jews despised the day of small things—small priest and small king. What can come out of this?

Once again, with prophetic insight, Zechariah could look through the shows of things; just as we, with natural insight plant an acorn, and what our little child despises grows before our eyes to a spreading oak. Zechariah saw the national life, its existence, its purpose in the world, lit up by God to illumine the world, in the image of the seven-branched golden candlestick, the flames fed by a bowl of oil at the top in the centre. The bowl holds so little that the oil will soon be done. But, just like mysteries not seen in this visible world, there grow by its side two olive trees, rooted in the vegetative life that ever anew realizes the will and power of God, producing oil day after day and year after year; and from those two trees two channels feed that bowl of oil with a never-ending supply of divinely given sustenance. The prophet looks and looks, and he wonders, What is the meaning of it? The answer is that the candlestick represents the nation's future, the oil that shall make it burn the grace of God—the grace of God given to it as a religious community, the grace of God given to it in a wise, just, strong, secular government. This, surely, is a lesson to all times! Translated into the speech of to-day, one of its meanings is that the philanthropist must believe in his own reform, when the common people thwart him, and when the politicians that he drives to carry it out are seen by him plainly to be selfish men, and by no means over-noble.

The last two visions purpose not so much to meet a doubt as to avert a danger. How shall Israel reach this glorious future? In one way only: by becoming the willing, docile, perfect instrument of God. Of God, in what respect? As the subject of an elaborate theology and mysterious

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explanations about His work and nature? No; but God, the just, holy, loving King of men. God's kingdom! In Hosea, Joel, Habakkuk, in every page of the Bible, God's kingdom consists not in meat and drink, not in ritual or ceremony, not in doctrine or dogma. God's kingdom and the light of God in man consist in doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God, loving our neighbour as ourselves, making our own life clean and helping to make our neighbour's life clean. Ah! the day will come when incarnate wickedness and ungodliness in its entirety shall be by God driven clean out of the land, and His kingdom shall be pure, holy, peaceable, the home of love, truth, justice, mercy, and righteousness, even as God Himself is in heaven.

Thereupon the prophet's eager heart springs to the perception that, though the work may take long, it has already begun. The last judgment will be a last judgment, but it is going on already; it is in process; God is governing the world. Surely the Jews will take heart, and will not be found with their Temple unbuilt, their faith in ruins, when suddenly God's work of judgment and righteousness in the world flashes forth, and the time has come to finish His kingdom!

It is easy to say that Zechariah is a great deal concerned about external things, and fanciful in throwing all his teaching into these visions, and that he expects the conversion of the world too largely to be done by force. Supposing all that were true, what was there at the centre of the man's faith? What was the animating principle and power of his whole life? What was it but the tremendous, daring belief that the most important of the world's population in that era was the handful of Jews at Jerusalem; the absolute conviction he held that that little community would do more in the future history of the world than all the mighty empires around them? A great philosopher has said that, in the

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age when they lived, those fanatical Jews, with their monstrous dream of their destiny in the world's story, must have seemed like drunken madmen amidst sober men. Now look back on that faith of theirs, and over against it look at the arrogant, the haughty, proud, vainglorious Egyptian monarchs, the Babylonian monarchs, the Persian monarchs, the Greek conquerors, who spoke of subduing the world. They are dead and gone, and vanished from the world's real life; while the faith of those Jews, the morality of those Jews, the religion and life of those Jews, dominates the civilized world, and those men who seemed fools, madmen, and drunken men in their own age now stand out the sober, sane men, amid madmen and drunkards and fools.

How came that wretched, small, despised people (even taking them in the time of David) to dream such a dream, to hold fast to it, when by their own folly they had destroyed every apparent chance of their realizing it? How came they, when their national life was broken up, and they were scattered among the heathen, still to believe themselves to be the destined masters of the world's thought, civilization, faith, life? How came they to expect to accomplish their destiny by force, or by devotion to ritual, in ways that were useless and impotent? How came they to so blunder about the fashion of that kingdom that, when the real King did come, they did not know Him, but persecuted Him, cast Him out, rejected Him, and crucified Him? How came it that their strange dream, in spite of their doing all they could to destroy it, has yet come true? I know no other explanation but this: it was God's doing, and it is wondrous in our eyes.

W. G. ELMSLIE.

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THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

I. The Tendency of Recent Criticism.[1]

I had for some time had it in mind to attempt a survey of the present position of the Johannean question, taking as a text what I conceive to be the most conspicuous phenomenon of recent times in respect to it—the mutual *rapprochement* of the two great schools of opinion on the subject—when I found that the task had been already done for me. The same attempt had been already made by one who possesses special qualifications for the purpose. Among German theologians, Dr. Schürer, for some time past of Giessen, but recently transferred to Kiel, holds an eminent place for the combination of solid learning with evenly balanced judgment. He distinctly belongs to the party which would be commonly called "critical"; and yet I do not know any writer who would command at the same time an equal degree of confidence on the side opposed to his own. From such a hand a review of the Johannean question is peculiarly welcome; and it is this which Dr. Schürer offers in a lecture delivered in 1889 before a clerical conference at Giessen.[2] But what especially caught my

[1] The series of papers of which this is the first is planned to fall under the following heads: (1) "The Tendency of Recent Criticism"; (2) "External Evidence"; (3) "Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics"; (4) and (5) "The Author"; (6) "Partition and Derivation Theories."

[2] *Ueber den gegenwärtiger Stand der Johanneischen Frage*, published in *Vorträge d. theol. Conferenz zu Giessen*, 1889. Since this was written an English version of Dr. Schürer's paper, with some additions and alterations, has appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for September. A reply by the present writer was inserted in the next number.

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own attention in this was that it took its start from the same point which I had set before myself—the gradual convergence of the two wings of the critical advance, and the possibility of obtaining an understanding between them.

Schürer begins his address by mapping out the history of the criticism of the Fourth Gospel into three broadly marked periods. The first is headed by Bretschneider's *Probabilia*, published in 1820, which really, if not exactly in name, heads the list of works in which the authorship of the Gospel has been disputed, and which is rightly credited by Weiss[1] with anticipating all the main lines of later destructive criticism. At a subsequent date, and in fact on three distinct occasions, Bretschneider deliberately withdrew his contentions, and expressed himself convinced by the replies which they called forth.[2] To the same result contributed in a still higher degree the impressive personality of Schleiermacher, who came forward as a vehement champion of the genuineness of the Gospel. The decisive point with Schleiermacher was the "Totaleindruck"—the impression of the Gospel as a whole—"the impossibility of inventing a picture such as that there given of Christ."[3] The difference between St. John and the Synoptics was parallel to that between the twofold presentation of Socrates by Plato and Xenophon: St. John had as much the deeper insight as Plato. For two decades, or rather more, these arguments held the field. Even the cautious and critical Credner gave a full adhesion to them.

The next period opens with an influence as great as that of Schleiermacher. Ferdinand Christian Baur first

[1] *Einleitung*, p. 611 f.

[2] For a full and clear account of Bretschneider's work, and of its place in his life, and bearing upon his general theological position, see Watkins, *Lampton Lectures* (1890), pp. 179–190.

[3] Schürer, *Vortrag*, p. 44, *Contemporary Review*, p. 390; cf. Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 303.

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expressed his views on the Fourth Gospel in the *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1844. His effort here, as elsewhere, was to realize vividly the leading ideas of the Gospel, and place them in what seemed to be their historical surroundings. In the first part of this attempt he doubtless succeeded better than in the second. Baur's conception of the Gospel as an embodiment of the conflict between light and darkness caused by the incarnation of the Logos was at least far nearer the mark than the impossible date (160–170 A.D.) which he assigned to the Gospel. Within his own school the influence of Baur reigned supreme; but without it, the effect of these radical views was only to excite a more energetic opposition. What we see in this period is the Tübingen School, concentrated and unanimous, on the one side, and a heterogeneous body of outside opinion over against it, on the other.

This state of things, again, lasted for rather more than twenty years. Schürer dates the beginning of his third period from the appearance of vol. i. of Keim's *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara* in 1867. From that time to the present he thinks that the most conspicuous tendency had been that of which I have already spoken—the tendency towards a narrowing of the gap which separates the opposing forces from each other by mutual concessions.

Summarily these concessions are as follows. It is admitted that the external evidence carries back the composition of the Gospel some thirty or forty years beyond the date at which Baur had been inclined to place it. In other words, that at the very latest it must have been in existence in 130 A.D.; it is admitted, further, that the Gospel is not in any case a purely ideal composition, but that it embodies a greater or less amount of genuine and authentic tradition; and, lastly, it is admitted that the divergence between the Synoptic Gospels and St. John is not as wide as had been supposed.

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On the affirmative side there are many, and it may be said an increasing number, who are prepared to allow that, even assuming the author of the Gospel to be St. John, still there is in the Gospel a certain subjective element; that in particular the discourses in the Gospel are not reproduced exactly as they were spoken, but with such unconscious moulding in form, if not in substance, as they could not well escape after lying for some fifty or sixty years in the Apostle's mind.

I follow Schürer's estimates of the concessions that are made in the critical camp, so as to guard against overstatement, though I think that we shall be able to put rather more emphasis upon some of them. At the same time, there are of course on both sides writers who cannot be exactly embraced under the definition given. A special word should be said on some of these.

The most irregular combatants in the critical army are Thoma and Jacobsen. Thoma has devoted to his subject a large volume of nearly 900 pages, entitled *Die Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums* (Berlin, 1882). In this he goes through the Gospel chapter by chapter, and reduces the whole—not merely a salient point here or there—to elaborate and systematic allegory. The Gospel is with him from first to last the fictitious clothing of an idea or group of ideas. "All the narratives are allegory, all the persons are types, all the discourses are dogma, all the notes of time and place, all the names and numbers, are taken symbolically." With the result that, as Weiss puts it, "the most spiritual of the Gospels becomes a second-hand and artificial mosaic, which would do no dishonour to the perverse ingenuity of a Talmudist or to the fantastic imagination of an Alexandrian."[1] Two brief specimens will, I think, be enough to give an idea of what this work is like. The question of the disciples in St. John i. 38, *ποῦ μένεις;*

[1] *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1882, col. 221.

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"Where abidest Thou?" is suggested by the passionate words of the lover in the Song of Songs (i. 7): "Tell me, O thou whom my soul lovest, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon." The double hearing before Annas and Caiaphas is introduced because the false prophet in the Apocalypse, the counterpart of the true Lamb, the true High Priest, has two horns[1] (Rev. xiii. 11)! Schürer himself dismisses this book as "a perfect model of fantastic caprice"[2]; neither has it met with much more favour elsewhere, though we shall see that it contains some good points, forcibly and clearly stated.[3] A similar view to Thoma's seems to be taken by Hönig.

Still less can we recognise the "spiritual Gospel" in Jacobsen's *Untersuchungen über das Johannes-Evangelium* (Berlin, 1884), a rude[4] attempt to explain the Fourth Gospel as constructed out of materials supplied by the Synoptic Gospels, especially St. Luke, with some further help from St. Paul. It is not without its significance for the scientific value of their inquiries that both Thoma and Jacobsen[5]—strange to say, in the company of so really learned a scholar as Hilgenfeld[6]—defend the genuineness of the adulteress section (St. John vii. 53–viii. 11) as a part of the original Gospel.

Besides these, though in a different sense, we must also put in a place by himself an English writer, Rev. John A. Cross, Vicar of St. John's, Little Holbeck, Leeds. I shall have occasion later to come back to some of Mr. Cross' arguments, but there is one peculiarity in his position which it seems right to notice here. He has published a succession

[1] *Die Genesis*, etc., pp. 407, 670.

[2] Page 56; see also Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, vol. i., p. 116.

[3] Holtzmann in *Theol. Literaturbericht* (1885), p. 79.

[4] Mangold speaks justly of his "hier und da recht herben Kritik" (*ap.* Bleek, *Einleitung*, fourth edition, Berlin, 1886, p. 291).

[5] *Untersuchungen*, p. 100.

[6] *Die Evangelien* (Leipzig, 1854), p. 285.

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of articles in different quarters—in the *Westminster Review*, (August, 1890), the *Critical Review* (February, 1891), and the *Classical Review* (December, 1890, April and June, 1891), dealing with various points in the evidence relating to the Fourth Gospel. Yet, although the tendency of his arguments is uniformly negative, he nowhere says in so many words that he does not believe the Gospel to have been written by St. John. He rejects most of the current arguments, but, for all we know, he may have others in reserve which supply their place more effectually. Now with Mr. Cross' private opinion, as such, I am not concerned. He has every right to keep it to himself, if he wishes to do so. But I cannot help pointing out that criticism of this purely negative kind is not appropriate to a historical subject. It is the criticism of the law-courts, not of the historian. History consists in weighing and testing competing hypotheses, and deciding which fits best and with least forcing into the delicate framework of surrounding facts. But Mr. Cross gives us no alternative to consider. The very utmost that his arguments would amount to, supposing that they were more entirely valid than I think they are, would be that other hypotheses besides that of Johannean authorship were not excluded. When that was proved, we should still have to test those hypotheses in the same manner, and see that enough was not left in the old view to make it, after all deductions, preferable to the new. However I would not deny that the arguments in question have their use. They will at least prevent conventional and indolent acquiescence. And in the papers which follow, they may make it necessary for me to go over some ground which I should otherwise have felt free to pass by.

I hope, as I proceed, to do what I can at once to define more closely the extent of the concessions with which the two opposing parties are meeting each other, and to make

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a few remarks on the points which are still in controversy. But as a preliminary we may take a glance at the general drift and current of inquiry. This will appear better from looking broadly at the literature of the subject than from allowing ourselves to be entangled at once in the study of details.

It cannot fail to strike us how frequently, along with the freest criticism, even those writers who deny that St. John wrote the Gospel as we have it yet have recourse to the supposition that he had some direct or indirect connexion with it. It is this tendency which has gained so much in strength during the latest period of Johannean criticism. It has taken several forms. Some writers make, as it were, a vertical division in the contents of the Gospel; others, a horizontal. Some attempt to mark off a Gospel within the Gospel—certain portions which they regard as genuine and apostolic, while the rest is of the nature of later supplemental addition. Others would not venture upon drawing a definite line of this kind, but they would say that the recollections of an Apostle or eye-witness have passed through the hands of disciples, and that what we now have is not so much the recollections pure and simple, as the same recollections seen through a medium, coloured and modified by the action of another mind than that on which they were first impressed.

The first of these two kinds of partition-theory[1] had been tried by several writers in quick succession, some fifty years ago: first by Weisse, in 1838;[2] then by Schenkel, in 1840;[3] lastly by Schweizer, in 1841.[4] All these attempts, it will be seen, fall in the first stage of the controversy,

[1] I believe that I owe the phrase to Archdeacon Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 246.

[2] In *Die Evangelische Geschichte Kritisch-philosophisch bearbeitet.* (Leipzig, 1838.)

[3] In an article in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken.*

[4] In *Das Ev. Johannis, etc., kritisch untersucht.* (Leipzig, 1841.)

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before Baur had entered into it. They have been revived quite recently, on lines not very dissimilar from those originally traced, in two rather notable instances. One is the elaborate work of Dr. H. H. Wendt, professor at Heidelberg, entitled *Die Lehre Jesu*, of which the first volume appeared in 1886 and the second last year. The other is the still more remarkable, if somewhat eccentric, series of works by Dr. Hugo Delff, *Die Geschichte des Rabbi Jesus von Nazareth* (Leipzig, 1889); *Das vierte Evangelium* (Husum, 1890); *Neue Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung d. vierten Evangeliums* (Husum, 1890). Into the more detailed views of these writers I hope to enter later. Both vindicate by far the greater part of the Gospel for an eye-witness, if not actually for the Apostle St. John.

Wendt adopted the traditional identification of the author with the Apostle. Dr. Delff in this, as in most other matters, takes a way of his own. He believes that the author bore the name of "John," but that he was the person afterwards known as "the presbyter," not the Apostle. It is not however as "presbyter" that Dr. Delff is most fond of describing him; the phrase which he more often uses is "the high priest John." This at once recalls the famous letter of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, about the year 190 A.D., an extract from which has been preserved by Eusebius,[1] appealing amongst other authorities on the Paschal Controversy to John, "who lay on the bosom of the Lord, who acted as priest, wearing the plate of gold (ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς),[2] both witness and teacher." The "golden plate" is that worn by the high priest with the inscription HOLINESS TO THE LORD (Exod. xxviii. 36). Delff therefore argues that ἱερεύς is used broadly for "high priest," as even in the Mishnah.[3] He infers that although

[1] *H. E.* v. 24, iii. 31.

[2] So most MSS. of Eusebius, here and in iii. 31, for πεφορηκώς.

[3] *Das vierte Evangelium*, p. 9.

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the name "John" does not appear on the list of high priests, he belonged nevertheless to the high-priestly family, the γένος ἀρχιερατικόν of Acts iv. 6, Josephus *B. J.* iv. 3, 6, etc. He interprets πεφορεκώς as implying "not that the wearing of the plate was a constant attribute of his person or of his priestly dignity, but that he had worn it once in the past, and therefore that he once fulfilled the high-priestly functions in the dress of the high priest." He supports this by reference to the provision in the Talmud that if the high priest was prevented from acting on the Day of Atonement, a substitute might act for him. Delff thinks that John, who wrote the Gospel, had once acted in that capacity. In that case, the idea of his having *once* so acted would be contained not, as Delff seems to think in πεφορεκώς, but rather in the aorist ἐγενήθη. Still it may be noticed as perhaps a slight argument against the common view that it was at Ephesus that John took to wearing the high priest's plate, that the term is πεφορεκώς and not φορῶν. Delff is quite right in pointing out that Polycrates, who was himself bishop of Ephesus, and an old man of at least sixty-five when he wrote, as well as counting seven bishops among his relatives, represents an exceptionally good and broadly based tradition. The passage is at once important and enigmatic, but I incline to think that some literal fact lies behind it, and that it is not merely a high-flown metaphor, as Bishop Lightfoot preferred to suppose.[1] It is an element in the question that Epiphanius ascribes the wearing of the πέταλον also to James the brother of the Lord—perhaps on the authority of Hegesippus, from whom other statements on the immediate context seem to be taken.[2] This would not be quite such good evidence as that of Polycrates, but there is the further possibility that

[1] *Galatians*, p. 345, ed. 2; cf. *Philippians*, p. 252, ed. 1.
[2] Compare Epiph., *Hær.* lxxviii. 14, with Eus., *H. E.* ii. 23.

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Epiphanius may have transferred the statement from St. John to St. James by a slip of memory.[1]

It was certainly an ingenious idea of Delff's to claim for the author of the Gospel this connexion with the high-priestly family, because it would at once explain not only the allusion to high placed personages like Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa, but also the accounts of secret sittings of the Sanhedrin, like that at which it was decided to compass our Lord's death, and the statement that many of the chief rulers believed on Him, though they were afraid to confess it.[2] This however is gained at the cost of sacrificing the passages which relate to the Galilæan ministry as interpolations. And it is a question whether the simple statement of St. John xviii. 15, "that disciple was known (γνωστός) to the high priest," does not sufficiently satisfy the facts on the traditional view.[3] It satisfies at least the data of the Gospel, which does seem to imply that the author had some private source of information in these higher circles. It would be enough that he should be in contact with them; he need not have mixed among them on terms of actual equality.

The two writers whom I have mentioned, Wendt and Delff, both venture upon a definite excision of certain parts of the Gospel as not directly proceeding either from the Apostle or the presbyter. I hope to discuss their theories on this head at the close of these papers. But in assigning the main body of the Gospel to John, whether Apostle or presbyter, they naturally do not exclude a certain amount of redaction by the final editor. It is a more common

[1] Cf. Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* ii. 2, 246. It would be rather in favour of Epiphanius' statement as at least in keeping with that of Hegesippus, preserved in Eusebius, that Hegesippus makes St. James enter the holy place. There is however in any case a legendary element in this narrative.

[2] St. John xi. 47–53, xii. 42, 43; cf. vii. 45–52.

[3] It has often been pointed out that the fact that Zebedee, the father of John, had "hired servants" (Mark i. 20) shows him to have been a man of some substance.

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view in the critical school to ascribe the whole of the Gospel to such an editor, but to believe that he embodied in it an authentic—and many would add Johannean—tradition.

Of course there are many different shades in this admission. Ewald regards the Gospel as dictated by the Apostle to the willing scribes by whom he was surrounded. He finds in the style traces of this mode of composition. The opinion which he expresses on this head is interesting. "The sentences are short, but not seldom improved, repeated, supplemented, only at times more complicated in structure: this is just the manner of one who dictates words, sentences, and thoughts to an amanuensis, very different from the way in which Paul sketched out his thoughts in writing, and then left them for a skilful scribe to write out in a fair copy."[1] According to Ewald, the whole Gospel practically belongs to the Apostle. The scribes only put themselves forward in verses like St. John xix. 35, xxi. 24 f.

Reuss, in his fourth edition (to which alone I have access) speaks with much reserve on the subject of authorship, which he would seem to throw into—but not far into—the second century, but at the same time he allows that "a number of incidental details, notes of time and place, unimportant in themselves, of personal relations and particular circumstances of all kinds, may without forcing be referred to the statement or authority of an eye-witness"; and even the discourses, which are questioned in the form in which they stand, are yet said to be "drawn from the purest sources, and to have their roots in the best soil"[2] (*gesundestem Boden*).

Renan, in his latest phase, after having at one time

[1] *Die Johanneischen Schriften* (Göttingen, 1861), p. 50. The examples referred to are St. John iii. 22–24, iv. 1–3, 43–45.

[2] *Gesch. d. heil. Schrift. N. T.*, §§ 218, 220.

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thought that the Gospel was written by a disciple of St. John during his lifetime, still refers it directly to his school, and sees in it in great part a reflection of the personal teaching of the Apostle.[1]

Weizsäcker, in his *Apostolisches Zeitalter*, works up with great skill a picture of the school of St. John at Ephesus, which has for its twofold product at once the Apocalypse and the Gospel.

Even Holtzmann, in both editions of his *Einleitung*, admits that, with all its supernaturalism, the Gospel has not a little to show of the "hard, intractable facts of history."[2] In like manner in his brief *Handcommentar* he has recourse "to personal recollections, whether of the Apostle himself, under whose flag the work seeks to pass itself, or of his disciples, or of other witnesses whom the author had met in Palestine."[3]

Schürer appears to adopt in his own person a view very similar to that of Weizsäcker. He summarises that writer's opinion to the effect that the Gospel "everywhere rests upon a real tradition, but that this tradition has been handled with great freedom and persistently idealized."[4] He adds that the leading ideas of Weizsäcker seem to him to point out the way on which the sharply divided forces of the assailants and defenders of the genuineness of the Gospel may one day join hands. In full accord with this are some weighty words which occur in the course of a review of a work on the Fourth Gospel by Oscar Holtzmann. Oscar Holtzmann, a younger cousin—not brother[5]—of the well-known Strassburg professor last mentioned, while allowing some traces of sound tradition in the Gospel,

[1] *Les Évangiles* (1877), p. 228 ff.
[2] Ed. 1, p. 431; ed. 2, p. 457.
[3] Page 18.
[4] *Vortrag*, p. 57.
[5] As Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 262. The relationship is explained by the younger writer himself in the preface to his book (*Das Johannes-Evangelium*, Darmstadt, 1887, p. iv). Heinrich Holtzmann has a brother whose name is "Otto" (*Einleitung*, p. viii).

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is inclined to reduce them to a minimum. On this Schürer remarks: "I confess that just these careful investigations of the author have strengthened me in the conviction that the contents of the Gospel cannot be understood merely as a free production on the basis of Synoptic materials, but that a separate tradition finds utterance (*durchklingt*) in it, although handled with supreme freedom." [1]

The extent of this freedom is a point on which I hope to join issue with Dr. Schürer later. For the present I am not concerned with controversy, but am simply adducing evidence to show how far the two sides have gone along the road to meet each other. It is now my duty to show how the gradual approximation is not confined to the critical camp, but has its place in the conservative ranks as well.

The subject on which the greatest concessions have been made by conservative writers is the *discourses*. It is coming to be allowed, even by those who uphold the genuineness of the Gospel, that these have undergone some greater or less modification in the mind of the Apostle before they came to be set down in writing.

Perhaps I may be permitted to begin by quoting some words of my own, written now some twenty years ago. They are the words of one who was only a beginner in theological or critical studies, but who was at least trying his best to look at the facts before him freshly and truthfully. It was urged at the outset that there were two questions which ought to be kept separate: the question whether the discourses in the Fourth Gospel represent accurately the words spoken by our Lord, and the further question, whether they are such as to have been committed to writing by an Apostle. The objections were stated thus:

"It is well known that the style and subjects of the Johannean discourses have from the first supplied one of the gravest argu-

[1] *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 330.

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ments against the Gospel. It is urged against them doubly, that they are unlike the discourses contained in the Synoptic Gospels, which, on the other hand, correspond exactly to the description given of our Lord's discourses by tradition; and that while they differ from the discourses in the Synoptists, they present a close and suspicious similarity, both in style and matter, to the Epistle which goes under the name of St. John and was certainly written by the author of the Gospel."

To this it was replied by granting that both the difference and the likeness do exist, though both might be exaggerated on the question of degree. It was admitted that the discourses in the Synoptic Gospels agreed better with the description of our Lord's sayings by Justin Martyr than those in St. John; that among the latter were none which could be called in the strict sense "parables"; that the action was stationary, and not moving or dramatized; and that the thing figured was not cut loose from the figure. Further, that the discourses in St. John were as a rule longer, and not progressive or self-evolving, as with the Synoptists, but frequently returning to the same point, appearing to revolve round a fixed centre, and that centre, not exclusively, but very largely, the Speaker Himself, His works, His person, faith in Him, that Divine Paraclete who was to take His place when He was gone.

What, it was asked, was to be said to these differences? If it was assumed, as it might be, that the Synoptic discourses accurately represent the original, was it probable that the Johannean discourses were equally authentic? Could two such different types at one and the same time be true? To a certain extent they could. Dr. Westcott, for instance, argued that the difference of style corresponded to a difference in locality; that it was one thing to address the simple, impressible peasants of Galilee, and another thing to meet the subtle and learned doctors of the law at Jerusalem; that there were traces in the Synoptists of the same exalted claims and self-assertion; and that it

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was only natural that the disciple "whom Jesus loved" should consciously or unconsciously mould his own utterances into the likeness of his Master's.

Every one, it was admitted, would feel that there was truth in these observations, and that they would carry us a certain way. But when it was asked if they would carry the whole way and cover the whole of the phenomena, it was thought that an absolute, impartial judge would say No. All the discourses in St. John were not placed in Judæa, neither were all those in the Synoptics placed in Galilee. The Johannean discourses were not all addressed to doctors of the law, and those in the Synoptists were not addressed exclusively to the populace; indeed the audiences did not seem to vary so very greatly. And the resemblance to the style of the Epistles extended to the discourses of the Baptist as well as to those of our Lord.

It seemed to follow from all this, that the discourses had undergone some sensible modification; and the only question was whether that modification was so great that they could not have been set down as we have them by an eye-witness and Apostle. This question was answered in the negative. It was thought that there was no greater modification than "might naturally result from a strong intellect and personality operating unconsciously upon the facts stored up in the memory, and gradually giving to them a different form, though without altering their essential nature and substance." A Gospel, in short, written by St. John need not have been expected to differ in character very much from such a Gospel as we should have had, if one had been written, from the hands of St. Paul.[1]

All turned of course upon the range and extent of the alterations introduced into the discourses. We shall have to attempt to gauge this at a later stage. For the present

[1] *Authenticity and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel* (London, 1882), pp. 69–74.

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we will only note the admissions of conservative critics. These, as we might suppose, differ considerably in degree. The reference made above to Dr. Westcott was to the *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*;[1] but I doubt if the elaborate and masterly *Prolegomena* in the *Speaker's Commentary* go, in set terms at least, much farther. It is admitted that we are "brought in the later record to a new aspect of the person and work of Christ, to a new phase of Christian thought, to a new era in the history of the Christian Church":[2] but, as well as I can gather, the facts are supposed to have been already there, although previously unapprehended; there is no express allowance for colouring imparted by the mind of the Apostle.

Next to Dr. Westcott's among English commentaries in fulness and thoroughness is the treatment of the Gospel by Dr. H. R. Reynolds in the *Pulpit Commentary*. Dr. Reynolds writes thus:

> "A subjective element cannot be denied so far as the choice of subject matter is concerned, and even the order, the symmetry, the dramatic grandeur, and monotony of Divine substratum and ethical appeal; but it appears to me infinitely impossible that the subjectivity went so far as to create the form and substance of St. John's Gospel."

It is allowed as "conceivable that the author in the longer discourses may have introduced germane thoughts and words which belonged to different occasions," and that he "may moreover have selected those more notable and impressive teachings which justified and created in his own mind the sublime theodicy of the prologue"; but it is not allowed that he can have invented them.[3]

In like manner, Dr. Gloag, in his recent *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*,[4] has "no hesitation in allowing a

[1] Pages 263–265, 267 (ed. 3, 1867).
[2] Page lxxvii.
[3] *The Gospel of St. John*, vol. i., p. cxxvii. (third edition, 1888).
[4] Page 146 f.

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certain degree of subjectivity on the part of John. The thoughts and sentiments were those of Jesus, but John clothed them in his own language, and in some cases subjoins to those discourses of Jesus his own reflections. Probably, also, he unites into one discourse utterances of Jesus spoken at different times."

Dr. Plummer, in the *Cambridge Greek Testament*,[1] gives an interesting extract from a letter of Cardinal Newman's, in which attention is called to the fact that the ancients did not use the third person for the indirect and paraphrastic narration so much as we do. Hence though the first person may be used, the style and words may be those of the reporter, and not of the speaker. I will close this *catena* of English writers with a striking passage from the *Bampton Lectures*[2] of Archdeacon Watkins:

"The key to the Fourth Gospel lies in translation, or, if this term has acquired too narrow a meaning, transmutation, re-formation, growth; nor need we shrink from the true sense of the terms development and evolution. I mean translation in language, from Aramaic into Greek; translation in time extending over more than half a century, the writer passing from manhood to mature old age; translation in place, from Palestine to Ephesus; translation in outward modes of thought, from the simplicity of Jewish fishermen and peasants, or the ritual of Pharisees and priests, to the technicalities of a people who had formed for a century the meeting ground, and in part the union, of the philosophies of East and West."

Time will compel me to restrict the like *catena* which it would be easy to make from Continental writers.

Godet allows for transference from Aramaic to Greek; he allows for compression; and he allows for the action of memory. The discourses of the Fourth Gospel are therefore with him, not so much a photograph as an extracted essence. But he will not admit that "the slightest foreign element" has been introduced.[3]

[1] Page 100. [2] Page 426 f.

[3] *Commentary on St. John's Gospel* i. 135 (Eng. trans. 1876).

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Luthardt goes a step beyond Godet. He takes up a saying of Keim's, and admits that the Gospel is "to a high degree subjective," but asserts that it is a misuse of language to treat this as equivalent to "historically arbitrary."

"When Hilgenfeld thinks that the historical is sunk in the doctrinal, we can readily own it, rightly understood. What they call doctrinal is just the soul of the history, which shines out everywhere from the body of the history. It is true that this is not possible without a certain freedom in the handling of the historical materials, and, indeed, a greater freedom than we permit to ourselves and to others. But in antiquity in general, and on biblical ground in particular, they stood towards the historical material in a manner different from ours."[1]

Stronger even than this is the language used by Weiss and Beyschlag, not without a protest from Nösgen.[2] Weiss insists upon the free reproduction of the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, showing at once the style and doctrinal character of the Johannean Epistles. Not only the original text, he says, but the concrete historical relations of the words of Jesus are often effaced, while the evangelist concentrates his attention on their permanent significance and value in connexion with his view of the person of Christ.[3] And Beyschlag no less emphatically endorses Weizsäcker's phrase about the "double countenance" (*Doppelantlitz, Doppelgesicht*) of the Fourth Gospel and the twofold impression which it makes, at once historical and unhistorical.[4] Similarly Paul Ewald, another strong champion of the genuineness of the Gospel, nevertheless recognises its subjective character and the dominance of the idea.[5]

I do not of course wish to be answerable for all the

[1] *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel* (Eng. trans. 1875), p. 247 f.
[2] *Gesch. d. neutest. Offenbarung*, i. 63.
[3] *Einleitung*, p. 607; *Leben Jesu*, i. 133, etc.
[4] *Leben Jesu*, p. 125.
[5] *Hauptproblem*, etc., p. 5.

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expressions which have been quoted. As we go on, considerations will come into view which put a limit to the degree of subjectivity which can be admitted. I have only given a number of varied opinions, in order to bring out the common tendency which runs through them.

On both sides I have spoken of "concessions." We are apt to call any step which is made by one party towards another by that name. Yet it is really false and misleading. The differences of opinion with which we are concerned are not matters of negotiation, conducted on the principle of "give and take." Both sides, we may assume, are actuated by the same love and search for truth, and the determination to be satisfied with nothing less. But an open mind will listen to the arguments which are brought against as well as for its own conclusions. It is called upon for a decision, and it gives it to the best of its ability at the time. Still the dart *hæret lateri*. The impression sinks deeper and deeper. A certain unconscious shifting and adaptation takes place. And the next time the old decision is given it is in rather less confident tones, or not without substantial modification. So opponents gradually approach nearer to each other; and so they may be expected to approach. For truth is no monopoly, but is arrived at slowly and surely by the long co-operation, and the friction which is also co-operation, of many minds.

W. SANDAY.

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THE HUMAN SPLENDOURS,

OUR LORD'S THIRD TEMPTATION.

HISTORY has yet to be written; what history is, is a medley of things to be remembered and things to be forgotten: accidents and incidents confused; excretions unburied; dust-bins exhibited; underlying forces unesteemed. Professor Mahaffy is the chaste writer of the most recent and very charming story of Greek life. He exemplifies the character of the materials at his disposal, when near the end of his book he says, "I have spent so much time in exhibiting the degradation of the principal Hellenistic courts at this critical period, that *I must remind the reader that there were still religion and morals in the world.*"[1] The italics are mine. The fundamentals of morals and religion are forced into a corner, and of course misplacements and misproportions are got. Courts do not represent human nature; village life does: the life of an honest shopkeeper, a widowed mother, a shrewd ploughman represents the humanity of a nation. Courts are only the visibilities of an age; the noisy, showy, superficial sides of things; often demanding oblivion. Court artificialities are on the way to the abyss, to be there engulfed in boiling mud lavas; the perennial of human nature is not there. Professor Mahaffy is helpless; he can only read Polybius to us, who also did his best, as best went in those days, to show and obscure the mystery of man. Even Tacitus and Juvenal show only what like society was at Rome; they do not tell us what like it was in the country. Behind the pawns by which the king plays his game are bishops and knights, which do checkmate the king. It is the sacredness and knighthood of the human idea which the historian should seek to exhibit. The music of man is too orches-

[1] *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 433.

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tral to be understood by ordinary minds; only its discords are heard; shrieks of disease under surgical operations; Nemesis hunting its victims. History is only the story of some select movements in a nation's life, commonly movements of frothy inanition and noisy wassail, and then the foam of the wave is mistaken for the ocean deeps. The archæology of the mounds of Troy and Mycæna has dredged up for us monuments of a succession of human strata, which history does not touch, and the minstrelsy of Homer has only sung to us one dynasty of the succession, a fraction of human doings.

Gibbon wrote the later history of the Greek race, of the Byzantine period, and wrote it with the historian's genius, but on the same lines as Mahaffy and Polybius, but without their excuse. Dean Church thus describes this historical performance. "He has brought out with incomparable force all that was vicious and all that was weak in Eastern Christendom. He has read us the evil lesson of caring in their history to see nothing else, of feeling too much pleasure in the picture of a religion discredited, of a great ideal utterly and meanly baffled, to desire to disturb it by the inconvenient severity of accuracy and justice. But the authority of Gibbon is not final."[1] These volumes of history should print in their preface, HEREIN THE PATHOLOGY OF HUMAN NATURE; PHYSIOLOGY NOT KNOWN. Pathology must have its record, but it cannot be understood without a physiology, the basis of health and life. Our theology is partly responsible for this pathology without physiology, by its theory of human depravity, which throws the race out of all respectability and gives it a disreputable career. It is mournful to see our biologists, who should help the theologian, following in the same beaten tracks,

[1] Dean Church, *The Gifts of Civilization*, p. 223, old edition. The Dean calls to his assistance the more recent researches of Finlay, Freeman, and Dean Stanley.

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untaught by their own science, and speaking as Herbert Spencer and Huxley do of the superstitions and delusions which govern the human mind. Till Carlyle wrote the life of Oliver Cromwell, and sorted his letters, all Englishmen believed through two centuries that Cromwell was a hypocrite and Puritanism a cant; that English life in one of its most heroic moods was a quackery, or at best a dismal deliriousness. To this day, the mythologies of Greece and our own Norse forefathers are believed to be the productions of the devil, or at any rate credited to the depravities; and yet these myths were the lamps by which the universe was lighted for them, and by which their performances were achieved, and by which they became the living fathers of living generations. We derive ourselves from them, and live still in them. We do not understand our derivation.

Christ in this temptation is asking for a historian who will write of human nature as He saw it, which is the truth of it. He is teaching us to reverse the methods of Polybius and Gibbon. The historian who knows his business should be able to say, reversing Mahaffy's words, "I have spent so much time in exhibiting the religion and morals of the nations, that I must remind the reader that there was still human degradation in the world." The history of the East End of London is not the history of English life in the nineteenth century. It is the history of a sore. Chrysostom, learning from Christ, said, "The true Shekinah is man." Carlyle, deep in the Puritan spirit, has said, "We are the miracle of miracles,—the great inscrutable mystery of God."[1] And again, "Is not man's history and men's history a perpetual evangel?" We must reproduce Christ's vision of Greek, Roman, and Teutonic humanity. He sees the world kingdoms and the real glory of them, not the mimicry or semblance of splendours. Or to repeat, as Luke with his plastic use of the Greek language has

[1] *Heroes and Hero Worship*, Lect. i.

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it, He sees the regal habitations and economies of human nature.

This, then, is the mountain spectacle: on the distant northern horizons a rusticity of family virtues in which our English homes began, the rudiments of a justice in which lay a Court of Queen's Bench; the principle of representation, in the Tunmoot and Folkmoot, in which lay the parliamentary history of Britain. Here were that Viking energy in which English colonies and American commerce are latent, and that untamed courage in which Waterloo and Sedan were dormant; here those flat-bottomed boats, seventy feet long and nine wide, which could be beached on any coast, the rudiments of our ironclads and liners, which can be beached nowhere. This is the Teutonic spectacle of protoplasms.

More visible and very obtrusive is the spectacle of Roman Law ruling the Mediterranean basin of three continents, the faculty of government and administration; public spirit, subordination of the individual to the general good; the power of conquest and dominion; deference to authority, loyalty to the State, and faith in a mission. This is the masculine Roman splendour of potences. More internal and pervasive are Greek idealism; art, literature; the perception of beauty and proportion, the sense of retribution and necessity; dependence upon the higher scheme and unknown plan. This is the Greek feminine splendour of pregnances.

In this landscape of human splendour, the Literary Artist introduces the Time Spirit. On the canvas now come the purples and crimsons of passion and victory. Satan appears claiming this opulence and offering it for sale. He will transfer the estate to Christ on the condition of worship,—"if Thou wilt fall down before me." Christ does not refuse the estate, but the blatant terms in the deed of

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conveyance. "Get thee behind Me; avaunt, Satan." We must read into the lines and colours of this picture the subjectivity of Jesus.

Christ gives to this devil of deviation a special name. He is Satan. We are not concerned in poetic literature with the person of Satan, but with the principle of Satanism. Any one who sees bad spirits here believes in bad spirits in worlds of spirits. No one believes in a Miltonic Majesty of Evil who divides empire with the Almighty Father. Evil is confusion, and cannot be an organization. The Time Spirit is Satanism, the spirit that regards man as a creature of mere years, and his affairs as lost in the grave, which works for temporal comforts and rules these limited interests. This is the Satanism of the poem of Job. The Time Spirit enters into the council of heaven, and interprets men's actions by the principle of selfishness; human goodness is governed by the stomach; the worship of God has its equations with a pocketful of guineas. Religion is not indigenous, but it helps men to live, and that is its value; it is often inconvenient, but men suffer it. If they could only manage to get on comfortably, they would not give God a thought. Zeus, father of men, is son of Time, old Kronos. The same Satanism Christ discovered in Peter, when he refused to let Christ die, unpercipient of eternal forces, percipient only of the monarchy of David and the placemen in it. Satan is the Time Spirit, the prophet of secularism, the mocker of spirituality, the sceptic of goodness. When Christ said, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," He pictured a vision which blazed for a sudden before Him, that His mission and name will unseat Time from the human heaven, Satanism from the throne of the world kingdoms.

It is not a lying assumption for the Time Spirit to claim possession of the world kingdoms, and the right of transferring them. To whom can the transiences belong but

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to the Time Spirit? "For that is delivered unto me" by God Himself. Obey the laws of this world, be prudent, wise, thrifty, and the world is on your side. Use the forces of time, be calm, brave, persevering, and you will be victorious. Men of genius have ruled the world by using the forces of the world. Sow money, and you reap money. Sow brains, and you reap a harvest of learning. Sow labour, and you reap brains and money. Satanism bereaves of spirit the world of matter; bereaves time of eternity; bereaves man of God. This deprivation and sorrow are the Satanic power around us. To worship Satan is to give the primary homage to the intents and aims which secure this life for us. We honour men, we love relatives, we worship God only. We worship Satan when we make Time interests supreme over us. The proposition which flits athwart the mind of Christ is to place a supreme reliance on the Roman, Greek, and barbarian powers; to unite them, to vivify them, to give them a finer potency; to redeem the world by conquest, culture, civilization.

The question which Christ discusses with Himself is the proposal to take charge of both the riper and the nascent civilizations, to transform them, to make them more productive and ennobling; reinforcing human nature by means of them. This life is a substantial reality. We are in it and cannot shuffle out of it. It demands and repays all the attention we can give it. Man's beginning at any rate is here. With the Greek genius of philosophy went dreary vices; with Roman aptitudes for law went cruel injustices and perjuries; the Teutonic promise was a wild world of warfare, village with village and family with family, with perpetual blood feuds. Make virtue more potent, justice universal, develop the finer capabilities of barbarism, make goodness supreme. The splendour of humanity has serious detractions. And here is the temptation before Christ; to

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take the splendour and work it to produce vaster and finer results; expand and sublime civil life, make the world more peaceful, inspire a higher manliness and a finer womanhood and a richer truthfulness; banish vice and misery, raise the present natural into a higher level, call out the unsuspected reserves of goodness, and make secularity a power and beauty. The materials are already here in Greek and Roman and Teutonic humanity. The Afterlife is far off, shadowy, unknown. It is there; it may be there; and a finer civil estate for man can do it no harm; when it becomes actual men will know what to do with it. It is at best a feebleness; religion a height which the human faculty refuses to climb; which likes liturgies and sacrifices, but finds godliness an irksomeness. God is an unknown Being, whose unknownness is a vague awe. Leave Him alone for the present.

In the two previous discussions Christ has consented to work with nature. He has denied Himself the supernatural. He has demanded universal dominion. The natural and the imperial can both be worked into a millennium by a genius like that of Jesus. The formula, If thou be the Son of God, is properly dropped in this last field of debate. He is the Son of man. All the powers of humanity such as Socrates, Euripides, Alexander, and the Cæsars possessed converge in Him. He can make men happy; He can refine human society; He can realize an ideal life on earth. He can introduce a civilization which will make man a comfortable creature, who will know no misery, who will pass the years of his sojourning here in dignity, in peace, in satisfaction. Worship is the wonder which overpowers the soul with the presence of God and the Eternal. To see the God-like only in humanity, to reverence the human faculty, to elicit all its higher notes, to make this world the paradise of human culture—this is the worship of the Time Spirit. The Time Spirit therefore says, "If Thou therefore wilt worship

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me, wilt reverence time and man's civil estate, and the worth of human affairs in time—all shall be Thine." The temptation is to acquire a universal empire by a specialized transformation of the human faculty, which will naturalize us in time, save us from the border feuds of two worlds, adapt our constitution to the Time climate, make us pure natives of the Time latitudes. Christ is tempted to be the Redeemer of time, and the Time Spirit concedes this redemption and royalty to Him.

Worship is worthship, the perception of a transcendent worth or majesty, which asks the loyalest and the goldenest that is in us. Time has an immense significance for us. But time only, and man is unfulfilled. As a time creature he is a torso, a trunk that wants both head and limbs; a splendid misery. Our great faculties have one phenomenal deficiency; we are incomplete; we are at our best a half which craves for its own other half; our structure is a hemisphere, and the sphere is got from the Lord our God. This time island of ours, looked upon by the sun and moon, and visited by the greens of spring and reds of autumn, is encompassed by the deeps and horizons of an infinite ocean. It is the ocean which makes an island, and it is the timeless which gives value and reason to time. Man is not to be treated and arranged for as under the supreme rule of time. He is a spirit of eternity, come from the bosom of God, going to God, and he must worship the Lord his God, perceive the transcendent worth of the eternal Father and hymn His adorations. The transitory in time has an inherent splendour, as a fraction of the infinite, as a chip of eternity, as star mist which is being condensed into a world. There is a wonder of greatness in man; the gifts of God to man for this life alone are profuse. No one speaks of the vanity of the world except weary, silly souls, worn out with a misuse of these gifts. But time misplaced and overvalued is Satanism. Make time the ciphers and

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God the figure before them, and you have quotations of thousands of stock.

The insidiousness of the temptation lies in the fact that the human splendour has never wanted the religious element. It is always there, and even very loudly there; it is in Hellenism, in Latinism, in Teutonism. Great epochs are made by reinforcements of the spiritual overshadowed by the civil and its civilizations. It is the message of Christ to contribute a freshness to spirituality, to make His life and death an influential memory and an inspiration of religion. The lucidity of the conclusion, the clear and clean incisiveness, that the human splendours need the awful contribution of His death to support and redeem them, are expressed in the robust formula and in the antique phrase, "Get thee behind Me, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."

In the struggle of a temptation we get sifted and clarified observations of governing truths. In the conquest the truths become illuminations; we get a new clearness to our ideas, a new sound to our words.

1. The truth and untruth in Naturalism is sifted in this third series of surveys and studies. Philosophies are a life before they are systems. We live in time; nature absorbs our activity, the visible bounds our hopes. Naturalism is a life first and then a philosophy, and Christ estimates it at its true worth. Mr. Justice Stephen is a refined secularist, and he has said with perfect candour that this life would be all we needed, if only it would last. A Greek would have put in an addendum, and said, If there was no pain in it. But brevity and pain and evil are the inconclusiveness of secularism, the unnaturalness of naturalism; its confusion. They are facts which turn secularism into a sophism. Henry Hallam is a youth loaded with a brilliant promise, from

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whom his contemporaries expected much, and he is dead at the age of twenty-two. The Emperor Frederic is gnawed with cancer in the maturity of his powers, when he is at his best, and he dies, and the destinies of Germany are trusted to a raw youth. Byron is a genius, and he wastes himself and dies in weariness and satiety at the age of thirty-eight. Hallam, Frederic, and Byron are the refutations of the logic of secularism, if logic there could be in its premisses.

Take any view you like of the message of Jesus to our world, this view is uncontested, that He is a Master who has wielded an unquestioned royalty of thought, a Legislator who has given both law and feeling to centuries. Temptation is to Him a supreme season, determining His course. In this illuminated season, with definite articles and the clearest accents, he pronounces judgment upon naturalism. He calls the Time Spirit Satanism, whether it be in the shape of positivism, naturalism, secularism, scepticism, agnosticism. Satanism in the Bible sense means the adversary of man's interests. When Christ says, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve," He has put a mark on these systems.

The Satanism of this temptation is the very best form of naturalism, which utilizes religion and does not eliminate it, which at least places religion on equal terms with law and jurisprudence and conquest and philosophy and home and commerce, and which accepts its guidance in the incipiences of young civilizations. The Beyond is a common theme with Socrates, and he calls it a fair prize and a noble hope.[1] Cicero finds comfort in the life beyond, and says, "There is beyond all doubt some mighty power which watches over the race of man, which does not produce a creature whose doom it is, after having exhausted all other woes, to fall at last into the unending woe of death."[2]

[1] *Phædo*, 114.

[2] *Tusculan Disputations*, book i., c. 49.

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Lucan, the Roman poet, with a sceptic sigh, says that the Druids of the Celtic and Teutonic nations used to speak of death as an incident in a long career.[1] It is not saying much to affirm that the splendours of antiquity are saturated with religion. In its best days, antiquity never dreamt of a divorce between religion and civilization.

In His resolution, Christ removes religion from the patronage of the Time Spirit, and from its subordination to worldly interests, and subservience to civilization, such as Satan has expressed in the Job literature. There Satanism appears in its nakedness, and disputes the quality of human nature, and argues that religion is only the selfish assistant to secularity. "Doth Job serve God for naught?" Job is a prosperous business man, a philosopher, a magistrate, and he is a religious man, but his religion has its value only for what it fetches in the market and for the table. Christ insists upon the paramount relations of man to God, the subordination of the natural to the supernatural, eternity as primary to time, the mortal as a fragment of the immortal; man the child of God; earth a boggy waste without heaven. The birth in the flesh is splendid, but it is fulfilled by a birth of the spirit in the flesh. The law of sex is the law of human splendour; man as man is only one sex, and the fertilization of man is by the Spirit of God. "Ye must be born from above." "I am the Vine, ye are the branches." "Without Me ye can do nothing."

Sin is not vice, or the denial of God, or the alienation from God. These are the consequences of sin; it is not the sinner that says there is no God, but the fool, according to the old Hebrew distinction. Sin is essentially the worship of the Time Spirit, the making of our plans and the building up of ourselves from the time base, the limiting of our interests to time. Sin is the suspicion that there is nothing more in us than the molecular contents. Sin

[1] *Pharsalia* i. 457.

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is doubt or denial of the Hereafter. In this last temptation Christ meets the essence of sin, the sin of happiness.

It is also remarkable that in this spectacle of human civilization, the gaze of Christ is fastened on the divineness in man, and not on his depravity. He sees something more than sin in human nature; he does not look at sin at all; he looks at the better and ideal side; and when sin appears He instantly rebukes it, as Satan. The examination He institutes is of the splendour of human nature, and finds the divineness which is nourished by the worship of the Lord our God. This is the more remarkable that He stood amid the wreck of religions and the depravities of civilization. If ever humanity looked a failure, it was in Christ's day. Hebraism was a rotten thing; Hellenism had become a talking, gossipping thing, furnishing lampoons for Roman wits; Latinism was in a sickly despair, soothing itself by suicide; Teutonism was a promising animalism. Yet what Christ sees is the deathless greatness of human nature, underlying dying civilizations and decaying religions. He is the Idealist of human nature as Himself the ideal Man, and sees man in Himself. The religious world has a lesson to learn from the landscape which Christ saw on this mountain. It is not of the kingdoms of the world that He says, "Get thee behind Me, Satan," but of the usurpations of the Time Spirit. We have put human depravity into prominence in our creeds; we have done well; it is a prominence in fact. But the work of this prominence is done. Sin is too conspicuous; there is no danger of its being obscured in a world which it ravages and blights. Evil is an awe of which every family has its experience. As long as there are mothers in this world evil will be an awe. As long as the crucifixion stands in human history, sin will be a seriousness. The note which Christ strikes in this temptation is the divineness which has been stamped upon us by the Hand that made us, by the Image which is on us from

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the inspirations of the Almighty, which is the note of devotion in the eighth psalm, which without another we hear: "Thou hast made him a little less than Divine."[1] When we have shown the higher, the finer, diviner side of human nature with as much persistence and eloquence as we have done the other, men will realize the turpitude of sin and the condemnation of secularism, with a new seriousness. The Eternal Spirit will then be desired for conservation and evolution.

2. In the problem of this temptation we see the contribution which Christ makes to vivify the worship of the Lord our God, and thus to the evolution of a new humanity and to the course of European history. All the centuries down to our day are involved in the studies of this temptation. The splendours of humanity are before Christ. How is He to win them, to save them, to give humanity a new career?—this is the problem. A new conception of God coming from His personality, a new sense of sin and seriousness coming from His death, a new hope coming from His resurrection, will excite a new worship of the Lord our God. A plan is entrusted to Him, that His death and resurrection are to be the reinforcements of all the lost ideals. The Time Spirit has usurped the kingdom of man. The deviation suggested is to stimulate a human civilization, which will revive the glories of Plato and of the Cæsars, and develop Teutonic childhood on the civil lines. He elects the plan of His death and resurrection, in the words, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God."

The Roman is a lawgiver and a messenger of justice to the nations, the founder and master of an empire. He has lost faith in law; human nature has been too much for him; he condones greed, licentiousness, public scandals. He has abused his strength; Roman solidity is gone; the Roman instincts are perverted. Emperors are infamous;

[1] Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Psalms*: Ps. viii., vol. i. (T. & T. Clark.)

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senators are criminals. There is despondency in the Roman heart. The Roman ideal is lost. Rome is diseased to death. In this despair the Personality of Jesus appears, the figure of a perfect Goodness. The death of Christ announced the inexorable justice of God; the resurrection the freshness of renovation. A redeeming force was seen. Christian ideas of duty and of purity came with new sanctions, and these gradually won their way and appropriated the empire. The empire was dissolved, but society remained, renovated and reinforced. Augustine, himself lifted from the dunghill, represents the restoration.

The Greek was a thinker, an idealist, the artist. He is now clever, quick, sparkling, like the Irish of our day. His philosophy is a witticism; his literature a talk; his art a trade; doomed to national decomposition by the pliabilities of his character, to be overrun and absorbed by more vigorous races. The Greek ideal is lost. Into this enfeeblement there is announced the seriousness of the Cross; the solemnity of Æschylus and Euripides and of the tragedies is revived. The First-born of the creation, the Archetype of ideas, has come and died and risen again, and this freshens Plato's idealism, relating it not to the mere beautiful, to the curve of the mountain line and the purple of the heather, but to the mountain schists and granites, to the eternal and the Divine. The Greek world was saved and renovated, and Athanasius and Chrysostom are the representatives of the new Greek world.

The Teutonic races are a crowd of wild, undrilled clans, endowed with fine instincts, germinant, but with an uncertain future. English homes and parliaments and colonies are in them; Nelsons and Von Moltkes; steam and electricity. But the early youthfulness could easily have taken another direction; that primitive rudeness had not found the heritage of modern Britain or Germany. It had wasted itself in rapine. Christianity found Greece and

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Rome in sorrow, reeling with misfortunes, fainting with blow and shock, and it comforted them by the hope in Christ and the sympathy of a heavenly Father. Christianity found the Teutonic races in the flush of conquest, proud of strength, exchanging the chase for a higher mode of living, exchanging their woods and marshes for built cities and ploughed lands. Christianity comes to subdue their pride, presents to them the Divine Ideal of humility and sacrifice and service, gives them the message of the Cross. It changes their ideas, and they who had otherwise been content with a fugitive and perishing civilization were won to higher and finer things.

The Time Spirit was killing the Roman world with despair and the Greek world with frivolity; and the Teutonic world had been left to a luxuriant savageness, which had dissolved it. Christ sees an exhausted Hellenism, a despairing Latinism, and a contingent Teutonism. He saves them, renovates them, reinforces all the finer elements in them, by elements which can come only from the love, the sacrifice, the seriousness which His death will inspire. The kingdoms of the world and the glory of them are conquered by Him, by the worship of the Lord His God, by accepting from God the laws and methods of His procedure.

This death is His difficulty; there is an unknown arduousness in it. Though there is a resurrection in it, the task of it is an unendurable strenuousness. His temptation comes from the difficulty of it. A few days before the crucifixion, some Greeks wished to see Him, and a spasm of this arduousness took Him as He stood in the presence of the Greek world. He told them, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." The mention of His death disturbed all His faculties, and He wished to be saved this pain of a death, which was to be even the augmentation of Him. Then He calmed down and said: "Now is the

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crisis (κρίσις not κρῖμα) of the world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." All this with the Greek world before Him, as if the landscape of the temptation mountain was again before Him, as if the Cross had been seen in the foreground of the mountain landscape. That His death will cast out the Time princedom was the gospel to the Greek world. It was in this Roman and Greek world, when the Roman ideal had become a phrase and the Greek ideal an hypothesis, that Paul offered Christ crucified to the Roman as the power of dominion, and to the Greek as the idealism of philosophy.

"The strange story of a crucified God" has annexed the manifoldness of the ancient world powers, and has created out of them the complexity of the Christian kingdom, which is not fulfilled as yet, which is in its mid career.

A ferment in nature is the entrance of a living organism into a substance, which breaks it up, and rearranges its component parts. Digestion is performed by a fermentive organism, the dough is changed into bread by a fermentive organism; the sugar of grape-juice is broken up into alcohol and carbonic acid gas, making wine, by a fermentive organism. Yeast makes the ferment by which bread and wine are got, and yeast is a plant. Its presence upsets one chemical equilibrium and produces another. And in the new combination, all the elements which are in the old are accounted for. This has been the singular function of the death of Christ. It has abstracted the elements of righteousness and holiness, and ideas of theocracy, from the Old Testament, and rearranged them in Christianity. Every essential element has been accounted for. A rearrangement of the religion of Moses and the philosophy of Plato and the government of the Cæsars has been obtained for an imperial sanctity. And thus a new species of society, a new order of humanity, a new history. Paul perceived this

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ferment, and saw its reconstructions, and withstood with undaunted front any tampering with it. In his epoch-making Epistle to the Galatians, he resents the revival of Hebrew ritualisms, and concludes his argument: "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." In his epistle to the Greek world, he says, "Christ crucified, the power of God and the wisdom of God." The crucifixion of Jesus has rearranged all the permanent elements in the old world, and started a new career for humanity. The vision of this fact is in the debates of this temptation.

The presence of Christ was the fulfilment of Hebraism, and also of Hellenism and Latinism. It makes the dispensation of the fulness of times. Christianity appropriated all the permanent elements of the old world, and constructed a new humanity. Jews were the earliest annexations, the Roman world next, and the finer spirits passed into the new society, as youth into manhood. Christ perceives the power of appropriation, and says: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God by temporising, procrastinating, unavailing methods. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God. Prophets and priests will live again in Me, philosophers and senators will be fulfilled in Me. All the moral forces of Hebraism will be vivified by My death; all the permanent elements of Hellenism will be accounted for by My death; and nothing but death will conserve the human attainments, and extricate the essence from the exhausted and putrid form. 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God.'"

The lost Roman ideal of duty is recovered; the lost Greek ideal of proportion is conserved; the uncertain Teutonic endowments do not remain any longer uncertain.

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The prince of this world, the Time Spirit, is judged, and can never be mistaken again, and a new standard of judgment or government is given to men of the infinite of God and the invisible of the Spirit. The classical ideals are transformed, and a new correlation of moral forces is found.

In the polemic of the Bread Problem and the Hebrew Problem, and what may be called the Greek Problem, the syllabus of duty has been taken out of the fog in which all originality is more or less wrapt. This syllabus is now an epic and a drama and a lyric all combined into one, making the literature a unique composition. We read the title-page of many books; we read the contents of a few; we master probably one or two. One masterful reading of the book of being is by temptation; the ideas lying in the chapters are understood, the passion slumbering in the sentences is waked up; syntax is put into the cloud of ideas and passions. Christ is living the life of humanity in these temptations, appropriating the centuries that are past, and projecting the centuries that are to be, and it is centuries that are pictured in the short cantos of this poem. He is communicating a gift of Himself to humanity which was always there, for He is the First-born of every creature, but which is to become expressive with a new expressiveness. The temptations show a striking situation.

3. The character of the temptation literature emerges into a clearer light from this exposition. As we might expect, Shemitic literature will show qualities unlike anything we are familiar with. Poetry always works with history, and the poet is a more correct as well as a more graphic historian. We have here the subjective condition of our Lord covering forty days, put into a rhythmic form. The poetry unites the epic, the dramatic, and the lyric inspirations, and the product is an arabesque, an Arabian combination. It is epic, as we have a Hero, purified by temptation, who extricates Himself in passion and pathos

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from an entangling position, who finds a clarified atmosphere of duty and service, whose being is heightened every way by the struggle. It is dramatic, as the fortunes of men and classes of men and representatives of men and classes are involved in the plot; in which Peter and John and Judas and Pilate, the Pharisee and Sadducee, Roman, Greek, and Teuton are persons in the drama. It is lyric, because Christ in a fire of emotion and flush of discovery is expressing Himself and in the end fulfils Himself in a completeness of submission and sympathy. As a literary composition, narrating prolonged mental movements, in which excursions were made into fields of possibilities around Him, which did not belong to the programme of duty, there is nothing, I venture to say, like it in the range of our literature.

The knighthood of the human idea, the sacredness of human action are best shown to us by the poet, not by the historian. Poetry is a creation; history, by its inevitable foreshortenings and colourings, is more or less of a manufactured article. Wordsworth calls poetry "the breath and inner spirit of all knowledge"; and Froude has said, "Great men—and all MEN properly so called, whatever is genuine or natural in them—lie beyond prose, and can only be represented by the poet."[1] The thought and passion on which these temptations repose could not be fused into a literary unity except by the poetic faculty. No man understands facts except as he understands the impulses which gave them birth. Facts are moulds into which the fire of being goes. The historian gives us the mould, and it has its value; the poet is the poet by the passion in which he feels the fire and reproduces it. The cadence of poetic words is from the music in our being. History in the end must be a poem, and not an uncadenced chronicle. Christ is His own Poet-historian here.

[1] *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, vol. i., p. 507.

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4. The validity of the exegesis which regards the temptation literature as a Shemitic poem has been already discussed. The insufficiency of the temptations, taken literally, as the prose of the actual, will be evident from the expositions given, and may be briefly summed up.

The force of the first temptation, if addressed to the hunger of Christ, lies in the suspicion that Christ would not deny Himself the use of His supernatural power for this particular purpose of supplying Himself with food, and that this power is not lawful. A law of economy must rule the use of miracles. On this special occasion this law becomes arbitrary, in that the devil is immediately allowed a luxury of supernatural power. He takes Christ or commands Christ to lift Himself in mid air, to perform an aërial journey into Jerusalem. Christ is denied a modest miracle for a necessary purpose; the devil is allowed a colossal extravagance of a miracle. There is no proportion here.

The improbabilities of the prose thicken on the Temple roof. Where is the evil in Christ going down from the Temple tower supported by angels? He must come down somehow. If He cannot use His own divinity, angel or devil must be employed. Does the point of the temptation consist in the employment of angel help? Do the words, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God," mean that there is danger in angelic help? How then is He to come down? He can suffer hunger and wait till He gets food naturally; but He cannot come down from the Temple roof in any conceivable natural way. And here again a decent miracle is refused, and immediately an immoderate indulgence in it is allowed, an enormity in miracle, a long aërial flight to the Lebanon or Moab mountains; and this too for an impossible object.

For it has been already shown that the first condition of a literal reading of the third temptation is impossible.

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Neither the range of the eye nor the curvature of the earth's surface will allow Christ to see the cities and empires of the world from any mountain.

The Devil of deviations and the Satanism of time leave Him, and angels of the Divine Plan, and the Holy Programme, and the Eternal Melodies come and minister unto Him, hymn themselves in Him.

W. W. PEYTON.

SAMSON.[1]

THE story of Samson confronts us with a most difficult theme. How comes this reckless, sinning man to be reckoned among the heroes of God? In assigning him such a place, I confess that sacred history raises difficulties which I am unable completely to solve. On the one hand, I see clearly that, in estimating the career of a man like Samson, we are apt to be influenced by unreasonable scruples. We have no right to judge him by the standards of the Christian conscience, or to settle beforehand what use God may make of a man like him in His government of the world. But, on the other hand, there is much in Samson's history which we find hard to reconcile with the character of a great and good man, and with the presence and controlling power of the Spirit of God in his life.

I shall run over the outstanding events in Samson's career, so that we may be in a position to estimate its ethical and spiritual significance, and to see if there is not good reason for endorsing the verdict of Scripture, and assigning him a place among the heroes of the Old Testament. A godly mother receives a Divine warning that a child is to be born who is destined in God's purpose to play a great part in the history of His chosen people. She

[1] A lecture.

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is enjoined to bring up the child as one set apart for God's service. In token of this, he is to keep his hair uncut, and is to be bound by the vow of abstinence from wine and strong drink and from forbidden foods, especially meats employed in the worship of heathen gods. The child is born, grows up to maturity, and, we are told, the Spirit of God begins to stir his soul within him.

Then comes the story of his love for a Philistine maiden, and his determination to wed her, in spite of the remonstrance of his parents. On the way to visit his promised bride he encounters and slays a lion. The episode suggests a riddle, which he propounded to the Philistine youths. Samson loses his bet through their treachery. This incident stirs into activity his hidden hostility to the Philistines, and he determines on revenge. We note in the revenge which he exacted on this occasion the grim humour that characterizes all his dealings with the Philistines. He accomplishes his bloody reprisals in a spirit of sardonic gaiety, and comports himself very much as a practical joker. He subsequently abandoned his bride in disgust, and her parents gave her to another man. This is the story of Samson's first exploit against the Philistines.

Then comes the second. The Philistines resolved to capture their formidable foe, and enlist the services of the craven-hearted Judæans over whom they had so long tyrannised. These men of Judah went to the stronghold where Samson was, to bind him and deliver him into the hand of the Philistines. "Bind me," said Samson, "and hand me over to my enemies; all I ask is that you will not traitorously put me to death yourselves." The thing is done, and he is brought away. The Philistines give a shout of triumph when they see him. But the Spirit of the Lord comes mightily upon him, and he snaps, as if they were burnt flax, the new ropes with which he had been bound. Then, seizing the jawbone of an ass that lay

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to hand, he falls upon the Philistines, who were filled with superstitious dread at such a portent of strength, and with his frail weapon destroys a thousand men. Mark again the jovial spirit, the rollicking humour, with which he celebrates his exploit. "With the jawbone of an ass I have killed a mass of men; with the jawbone of an ass I have smitten a thousand men." This is the story of his second exploit.

And then comes the third. Samson becomes entangled in an intrigue with a loose woman at Gaza. His enemies quietly dispose themselves, expecting to seize him as he makes his way out of the town in the morning. But Samson rises in the middle of the night, and, in that jesting humour of his, takes hold of the brazen gates of the city, lifts them clean out, with the posts in which they are placed, carries them to the top of a neighbouring hill, and leaves them there. This, of course, adds to their resentment against him, and helps to bring about the crisis in which he perished.

The story of Samson's last exploit against the Philistines is as follows. Again he forms a degrading attachment to a courtesan, an attachment which takes possession of his whole nature. The woman was a heartless traitoress, and proved a ready instrument of the Philistines, who, by bribes and threats, induced her to win from Samson the secret of his supernatural strength. She exerts all her wiles for this end. At first Samson resists, but at length he is undone, and reveals the Divine secret. Samson is betrayed and taken prisoner. He is carried away, helpless, to gaol. His eyes are put out, manacles are fastened on him; he is chained to the handle of a great millstone, and compelled to do the work of the most menial slaves, to grind in the prison-house. In this dark dungeon, with the light of day clean gone for ever, he lies imprisoned. Meantime, the Philistines—all their nobles, priests, and magnates of

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every description—gather themselves into the chief temple of their god, Dagon, to celebrate with due magnificence their triumph over the downfall of the hero of Jehovah. In the midst of their revelry, the idea occurs to some one of having out the blinded Samson. No sooner said than done; and while they perpetrate all sorts of cruel jests upon him, and exult in their victory over his God and himself, the sense of revived strength seems to take possession of him. In one last determined desire to do something for his God and his people, he bids his guide lead him to the two central pillars on which the great roof of the temple, covered with people, was supported, and drags the pillars down, and buries the pride and flower of the Philistine nation with himself in one common ruin.

Such is the story. All thoughtful and candid students of the Bible feel that it is an extraordinary narrative, with features that differentiate it from the rest of Old Testament history. There are elements in it that remind us strangely of Greek and Roman mythology. Accordingly a great many scholars conclude that it is simply a myth; that these weird and picturesque stories of gigantic strength depict the operations of the sunshine, as, for example, in the burning of the corn. In confirmation, they point out that Samson's name, in Hebrew, means "the sunny one." I, for one, do not believe this, and the best scholars, even the most unbelieving of them, reject this view. The story is too real and life-like to be treated in such a fashion. Besides, there are in it far greater divergences from Greek mythology than there are real affinities.

Others, again, say that this is manifestly a real story, though with much poetical exaggeration, and with no religious purport, of a rough, lustful man who fought the Philistines. On the other hand, the Bible history states that Samson fought for God and righteousness, for the progress of God's kingdom on earth, and assigns him a

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place in the grand procession of those who prepared the way for Jesus Christ. Either a New Testament writer is mistaken, or else it is we who are blind and wanting in insight if we fail to find in Samson's history solid ground for maintaining that, in spite of all his imperfections, he did, in his way and with his gifts, perform the work that built up true religion, and helped forward the progress of God's kingdom, and prepared the way for the coming of Jesus Christ. That there are difficulties, I own; but for myself I feel justified in saying that I can perfectly comprehend how a place in the roll of Old Testament heroes is assigned to Samson by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The God of the Bible is no abstract creation of human thought. He is the God that made this strange earth, with its animals that prey on one another, its earthquakes and tempests and floods; the God of life and of death, who made love and joy, but also worked into His design sin, disease, and death; the God that made human intellect, capacity, and skill, but that also left man to fight his own way through the world, and to learn through his blunders and errors; the God that does not supply everything ready made, but that gives us eyes and minds and hearts and consciences, and the material to use them on. Just as we must work out for ourselves the better form of government and the more perfect social order, so it is better for us to seek the truth than to get it without effort, to fight our own battles, and to rise above our sins to self-conquest and self-devotion. And the loftiness of character men reach so is all the greater, because the soul of it is humility,—the tenderness of penitence and gratitude for sin forgiven. With such a conception of God's discipline of men, I do not find it so hard to fit this brave-hearted—yea, this lustful Samson, into God's work in our world.

The Bible judgment of sins is very different from ours. We make distinctions which it does not recognise. When

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I take my New Testament, I find in the list of deadly sins, classed in equal terms, murder, adultery, fornication, love of money, lying, hard-heartedness, pride, vainglory, hypocrisy. We should be more tender and charitable than we are when we find the lives of great and noble men marred by sins for which we choose to excommunicate them, and more humble and lowly in our own claim to be ourselves servants of God and soldiers of Christ. If you admit these to be true positions, then I ask you to read the story of Samson in the light of them.

Two things stand out in the narrative of Samson's career, as compared with the history of, at least the majority, of the other judges. (1) The other judges fight God's battles with the people at their backs. They simply give aid and point to a sense of rising strength, of impatience of subjection, of reviving national pride and religious zeal in the Hebrew people. Samson, on the contrary, stands utterly alone, fights his battle single-handed, is supported by no enthusiasm for the national cause, and not even by common loyalty on the part of his own comrades. (2) The other judges are chosen to their office as mature men, but Samson is set apart to his career as an unborn child. From his very infancy the sense of his vocation takes possession of him; as child and boy and youth, it is making and moulding him, and preparing him for what he is to be. The explanation of these two characteristic features of his history, which distinguish it from that of the other judges, lies in this, that Samson's lot in life fell upon a period of utter national demoralization.

As time goes on, we learn how the method of government by judges broke down in Israel, and was abandoned for government by a king. Its utter inefficiency was manifested by the condition of apathy into which Israel had now fallen. They had lapsed into subjection to the despised, uncircumcised Philistines. All national spirit was dying

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out, and the prestige of Jehovah was giving way before the prestige of Dagon. Jehovah's people are a conquered, tax-paying, Philistine-ridden race. Dagon is triumphant over Jehovah; he is the strong god, Jehovah the weak God. Now the only hope for the redemption of a society that has fallen into a condition of such lassitude, mental and moral, lies in the creation of a fresh and powerful personality. All through the world's history you find that, when a people's life has fallen into the mire and become impotent, its recovery begins in the sudden meridian of a great personality. Indeed, just because God is in human history, such periods seem to produce, as it were, by an inevitable reaction, their own remedies; just as the blighting curse of strong drink is met and fought by the other extreme of total abstinence. So in Samson's time, when the social order, resting on specially selected and temporary judges, had broken down, and religion and patriotism were dwindling and dying out, the popular life produced, by way of recoil, two extraordinary phenomena. The first was the order of the Nazarites; the second, the order of the prophets. Samson represented the Nazarite, Samuel the prophet. Mark the significance of the Nazarite. The religious conception of Israel in its relation to God was that the whole people were God's body on earth. He dwelt among them, lived in them, wrought through them. But the mass of the people were utterly incapable of realizing such an ideal, and the presence of God in Israel became concentrated in and represented by certain orders of men,—the priests, the prophets, the Nazarites. Those three religious orders run all through Hebrew history. The Nazarites were ascetics, —the total abstainers, the religious fanatics of the times. They kept their hair uncut, as the external mark of their consecration to God. In protest against those habits of luxury and self-indulgence that led by a natural tendency into Baal-worship, they abstained from the produce of the

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grape, and indeed, in many cases, denounced the culture of the grape. They occupied precisely the same position which the total abstainer occupies among ourselves. The Nazarites represented, in all the great epochs of Hebrew history, the inevitable and salutary (salvatory) recoil from irreligion and immorality.

To return to the story of Samson. If there is any hope for Israel in its present condition of moral and religious apathy, it lies in the appearance and power of a great and strong personality. For the most part, society moves on without consciousness of the primitive forces. It lives at second hand, on what has been won for it. And while it has still vitality and manhood enough to make it capable of being stirred by some lofty enthusiasm, at such a time its awakened spirit can possess a man, and mould and transform him, and shape him to be its leader and exponent. This is the story of the other judges, who were carried forward on such a tide of national enthusiasm. When however society has become so emasculated, paralysed, and impotent as to be incapable of a large, general enthusiasm, this happens: God, who is ever caring and working for social progress, drags down into the original depths the new forces and motive-powers that are born in the character of a man—some great religious or social reformer, or some mighty thinker, or some minister, who takes possession in the name of humanity of new forces of physical nature, and gives a new outlet to population, commerce, and industry. This is the explanation of the story of Samson. In this way he was chosen before his birth for his vocation, and shaped to fulfil it. For this reason he had to fight his battles single-handed, unsustained by any popular enthusiasm.

How, humanly speaking, was Samson prepared for his work? To begin with, God made a cradle and a home for him. Samson's mother was a woman with a great soul and

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a large heart, to whom God was a reality; a woman who could not indeed fight God's battles and deliver God's people, but who lived with the upper storeys of her being in the unseen, and was possessed with a tremendous longing that there should be deliverance for Israel, that something heroic should appear in history, and that God should vindicate His might and grandeur above the heathen gods. Samson was born to a mother that longed for a boy, not that he might rise to comfort and ease, but that he might be lofty and heroic, and fight and, if need be, die for God and God's kingdom. To her son she transmits her hope, faith, and enthusiasm. Can you measure the might of a motherhood like that? Such a mother can make men saints and heroes.

Again. From a little child Samson felt something mysterious stirring in his soul, ay, and in his physical nature. True, it was through that strong flesh of his that he fell. What then? If men of majestic intellect, and splendid achievements, and noble dreams, and the power of self-sacrifice be dragged down, stained and marred by besetting lusts and sins, are men of puny natures competent to judge such geniuses, who are exposed to extra temptation by reason of those very gifts of God that make it possible for them to do, for God and man, more than other men could do? I do not justify the sins of Samson, I simply put the question: Are we, any of us, who are doing God's work, guiltless of hypocrisy, half-heartedness, and worldliness? And shall we judge this man, who lived in another world from ours, and was exposed to strong temptations by the very qualities that made him serviceable to his age and God? God's heroes are not spotless. God takes them, if they will take Him.

Samson needed extraordinary gifts for extraordinary work. He had, single-handed, by his own solitary prowess, to cow the Philistines and reanimate the courage of the

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Hebrews. Two things were needful for him: (1) extraordinary strength, (2) inextinguishable joyousness. To hold his own amid the abject depression of the people round about him, it was essential that he should be possessed of exuberant mirth and jollity. It is the men that do the most serious and earnest work that can play and romp and laugh with their children. That is not the noisy laughter of the fool.

Once again: it may be that asceticism is demanded for our age, just as Nazaritism was for Samson's. But that, remember, is the bad remedy of a still worse evil. Jesus Christ was no ascetic, else his enemies would not have published, as the likeliest scandal about Him, that He was a wine-bibber.

Samson's strength came, not from his hair, but from God. "The Spirit of God came powerfully upon him." I wish we Trinitarians did believe in God's Spirit more than we do, as a living power in practical, every-day life. God's Spirit gives the clever workman his skill, and the artist his visions of beauty and technical deftness of hand. God's Spirit stirs up the brave man to do his duty, and gives the martyr courage to die unflinchingly. And God's Spirit was in those heroes of old. Does this reduce our conception of the supernatural awfulness of the processes of redemption and sanctification,—the work of the Spirit of God, who convinces men of sin and renews them again in the image of Christ? Surely not! But it brings the solemnity and sacredness of religion down into all that we call secular and common. God's Spirit is in our physical, mental, and moral life, quite as much as in our spiritual life. The supernatural of the Bible is nothing more than the natural of every-day life become articulate. Every man of real, original genius will tell you that his best thoughts, his most wonderful achievements, came to him. He was preparing, seeking, searching, trying to accomplish something, and

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could not. Suddenly a flash of light was cast upon him,—a great wave of might lifted him out of himself and carried him away. It came to him!

The supernatural strength of Samson was undoubtedly accompanied by a proper physique. The motive-power had a strongly built engine on which to operate. But it is noteworthy that Samson is not described as a giant. He was no monster like Goliath, who had only that physical strength of which a little skill can make an end. The impression we derive from the story is that Samson was a well-made man, but not of enormous proportions. Much of his power is attributable to the character of the man: the skill, the wit, the unexpectedness of what he does, the audacity, the daring, the flash of his eye. But more than all, it is the impression he gives of supernatural power behind him, his own consciousness of the Spirit of God flashing out in all he does, the strange and weird prestige established around him, that gave him his extraordinary ascendency over his enemies. A personality like Samson's means a perilous exposure to the entrance into him and the mastery over him of the physical forces that were around him. No man lives his life *in vacuo*. The magnetic, emotional, passionate energy of Samson, so full of vivacity, meant for him an intensely sensitive and susceptible relation to all around that stirred the passions and forces of the flesh. A little man is saved by his littleness from the perils of a giant or a genius. All through the story, moreover, you see how God made use of Samson's lapses into sin to embroil him with the Philistines. Sin is not to be justified; but in estimating the character of Samson, we must take account of the way in which God sometimes over-rules men's evil deed to lift them to a loftier career.

I am astonished at those rationalistic critics who mock at the story of Samson, and ridicule it as low and ignoble.

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If it was such a poor and vulgar affair, how came it that he occupies a place among the saints and sages of the Old Testament, and that his story is preserved while so much else is thrown aside? And how was it that every Hebrew was proud of Samson, and that he was loved more than all the other judges? Ah! there must have been something grand and noble in the man. We feel his strange attractiveness. He was such a real man; his wit, humour, irony, his very sins and weaknesses, bring him near to us. Remember how, when the Philistines demanded him, and the men of Judah made the cowardly proposition that he should give himself up to save their property from being plundered, the big-souled man replies, "Yes; make me your sacrifice." There is a touch of Samson's nobility!

But I go on to the last scene in Samson's life. Note the danger that lurked in his vocation. A virtue or a religion that rests on an extreme is unstable. His Nazaritism exposed him to the risk of becoming presumptuous, of trusting in his external calling to be God's, and forgetting that the very core and kernel of his vocation and his power lay in his heart-loyalty to God. In this way he fell. For the love of a harlot he risked his Divine vocation. That meant that God had lost hold of him; and so the sunny, strong, triumphant, merry Samson is in a dungeon, grinding in chains at a mill, with his eyes put out, his hair cut, and his strength gone!

Try to picture the man in the light of the tragic end of his life, and you will see much that is not rough, or rude, or vulgar. Think of that great heart, that brave soul, that man that so loved the sunshine and his liberty and his strength. Oh the degradation, the bitter remorse and upbraiding! He did not blame Delilah; he did not blame God; he blamed himself, and his own reckless madness, that had flung such a great career away. And beyond all, there was the horrible dread that he had been cast off by

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God for ever; no strength coming to him now in his prison; no voice of God. Had he lost God, and the light of God, as well as the light of the sun? Ah! and no comfort came to him for many a long day! He did not know it was on the way. But his hair was growing, and he was recovering, though slowly, as from a great fall. There is a way to heaven even from the very gate of hell.

The poor, blinded hero goes into that temple, stumbling, and laughed at as he stumbles; he is jeered and mocked; he is dazed and broken-hearted. But, I think, suddenly his ear caught that mocking song of praise to Dagon, that exalted Dagon as the conqueror of Jehovah and of Samson. And the inspiration came to him: still his name is associated with that of Jehovah; and they are mocking, not him, but Jehovah! Oh! perchance he may still reckon that he and Jehovah stand and fall together; and perchance Jehovah counts it so too! Suddenly there came to him, like an echo from the past, that strange movement in his soul, a sense of the Divine *afflatus*, an inspiration, a dim consciousness that his strength had returned to him; and then the swift resolve. If only he could do one deed that would undo the injury to Jehovah and Jehovah's people he had done; ah! if he died in doing it, perchance he would sooner die than live with his eyes put out, and the everlasting record of his shame written in his body. But to die for Jehovah and for Jehovah's people! And so he got his arms over the pillars, and a great cry went up from his great heart to God to give him power to do one thing and wipe out a shameful past. He bowed himself, dragged those pillars down, and died, surrounded by the overwhelming ruin of the pride and flower of all Philistia. Through Judah and Ephraim the story went; every Hebrew heart was fired and worshipped Jehovah; and the faith of Jehovah shone out. They came through the panic-stricken, cowed Philistines, and they bore his mangled

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remains from that ruined temple, and they laid him in the grave. And so, with all his sins, his fall and shame, but with his great repentance, and his large, brave heart, and his love and loyalty to men and to God, they wrote over his grave that he was a true man of God, and a hero of God's kingdom on earth. The Epistle to the Hebrews needs no justification in endorsing that verdict and counting Samson among God's heroes.

W. G. ELMSLIE.

THE ARAMAIC GOSPEL.

INDICATIONS OF TRANSLATION.

IN our February paper we endeavoured to show that there are four kinds of textual discrepancies to which Semitic texts are liable in the process of transcription: (1) The diverse vocalization of the same consonants; (2) the interchange of similar letters; (3) the omission of one or more letters; (4) the transposition of two consecutive letters. We illustrated this by showing that the quotations in the New Testament from the Old give clear and abundant evidence that the Hebrew text from which they were translated differed in *each* of these ways from the current Massoretic text preserved in our Hebrew Bibles. The reason why our New Testament quotations differ from the Old is, in almost all cases, that they were based on MSS. which differed in the ways indicated from our present Hebrew text. It may be instructive to the thoughtful student to illustrate these modes of divergence in another way. It is admitted by modern scholars, almost without exception, that Psalm xviii. and 2 Samuel xxii. are two slightly variant copies of what was originally the same psalm. The differences between the two are very much

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smaller than they appear in the English Bible; indeed, for the most part they have arisen in the simple manner we have described, from slight errors on the part of the scribe. We will exhibit some of these various readings, making use of the figures which occur at the opening of this paper.

	PSALM xviii.	2 SAMUEL xxii.
	(1)	
51	מַגְדִּיל, magnifying.	מִגְדּוֹל, a tower.
	(2)	
11	ויּדא, He soared.	ויּרא, He was seen.
12	חשכת, darkness.	חשרת, gatherings.
33	ויתי, He maketh.	ויתר, He guideth.
43	אריקם, I cast them out.	אדיקם, I stamped them.
	(3)	
16	אפיקי מים, channels of waters.	אפיקי ים, channels of the sea.
35	נחתה, bend.	נחת, is bent.
36	דותנע, Thy condescension.	ענתך, Thy answer.
42	ישועו, they cried.	ישׁעו, they looked.
44	תשימני, Thou madest me.	תשמרני, Thou preservedst me.
	(4)	
46	יחרגו, they tremble.	יחגרו, they gird themselves.

Equally instructive is a comparison of proper names, as found in the first book of Chronicles, with the way in which they are spelt in the earlier books of Scripture. I have noted *sixty-two* variations, which are clearly due to very simple errors of the scribe. Of these, thirteen are due to diverse vocalization of the same consonants; twenty-eight to change of one letter; eighteen to omission of a letter; and three to transposition of consecutive consonants. An examination of the margin of the Revised Version will enable even the English reader, to a large extent, to verify this computation.

Granted the existence of an Aramaic Gospel, in accordance with patristic testimony, it is reasonable to suppose that the same kinds of copyists' errors would creep into the MSS. of this work as occur in different MSS. of the Hebrew

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Scriptures; and, conversely, when passages in the synoptic Gospels exist in such substantial agreement as is compatible with the hypothesis that they are translations from the same source, and the divergences are such that, in very numerous instances, when the variant words are translated into Aramaic they yield words which closely resemble each other, differing only in one of the simple ways we have enumerated, then the hypothesis may claim to be a demonstrated fact—the synoptists made use of an Aramaic Gospel.

In the present paper we intend to adduce instances of the third and fourth modes of divergence above named; that is, where the divergent Greek words yield, when retranslated, Aramaic words which differ in the omission in one case of a single letter, or in the transposition of two consecutive letters.

I. Instances of the *omission* of one letter in one of the Aramaic words.

1. One instance of this was briefly referred to in our March paper, in the narrative of the paralytic who was lowered through the roof into the presence of Jesus. There were found, standing in exact parallelism, the two following phrases:

Mark ii. 4: They uncovered the roof.
Luke v. 19: They ascended upon the house.

We there showed that the constant, if not the only, word in Aramaic meaning to ascend is סְלַק. This verb, in Pael סַלֵּק, means to raise, to lift up and carry off, remove. Then we saw that the word likely to be used of the huts of the Galilæan peasants, with their mud roofs, is מְטַלְלָא. This word, we may add, is used in the Syriac of the "booths" which Peter proposed to build upon the mount of transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 4), as also of the "houses" into which "the unjust steward" hoped that his debtors would

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afterwards receive him (St. Luke xvi. 9). The word for roof is טְלָלָא. So Zephaniah ii. 14, "Her roofs have they torn down." So that in an unpointed text the difference between these two phrases is:

Mark = סלקו טללא
Luke = סלקו מטללא

2. In the injunction given by the Saviour that we should not set our affections unduly on things of the earth, but lay up treasure in heaven, we have an interesting verbal divergence, which seems to me explicable by the difference of one letter.

Matt. vi. 20: Where thieves do not *dig* (or *bore*) *through*.
Luke xii. 33: Where thief does not *draw near*.

In the first case, the underlying metaphor is to walls of mud, of which common houses were often built, and through which the thief bores a hole for himself to enter. The Aramaic word to express this process is נְקַב. The word occurs for instance in the Targums:

2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: The Chaldæans made a copper mule, and *bored* many small holes, and inclosed Manasseh in it, and kindled a fire round about it.
2 Kings xii. 9: Jehoiada took a chest, and *bored* a hole in the lid thereof, and set it beside the altar.
Job xl. 24: Shall one *pierce through* his nose with a snare?
„ 26: Canst thou *pierce through* his jaw with a hook?

The verb "to draw near" is קְרַב; so that, using in both cases the imperfect tense, as indicating indefinite frequency, we obtain:

Matthew באתר דגנבין לא יקבו
Luke באתר דגנבין לא יקרבו

3. To return again to the narrative of the Gadarene demoniac. We are told that the demons were very pronounced in their preference as to where they wished to go,

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if they were to be compelled to leave the man whom they had tormented for so long.

Mark v. 10.	Luke viii. 31.
καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν,	καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν
ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς	ἵνα μὴ αὐτοῖς
ἀποστείλῃ	ἐπιτάξῃ ἀπελθεῖν
ἔξω τῆς χώρας.	εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον.

On the third line we have clearly two synonyms, "to send away" and "to command to depart." Both may well come from אַפֵּיק or אַעֲדֵי, the causative of verbs meaning to "go out" or "go away," hence to "send forth." The fourth line is more difficult. Mark says that the demons "besought Him that He would not send them *out of the country*"; Luke, "they besought Him that He would not command them to depart *into the abyss*." Will it not be a decided gain, if we can show that these two expressions are, in Aramaic, so nearly alike as readily to be confounded by copyist or translator? The Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew אֶרֶץ = earth, land, country, is אַרְעָא, אַרַע. But the adjective which means lower, lowermost, infernal, is the very same in form, אַרַע or אַרְעִיתָא. These words are both used of Sheol or the underworld. There is also another word for "country," when used, as a townsman uses the word, of the region *outside* the busy haunts of men; this is בַּר, בָּרָא. With prefixes, this word is used as a preposition, like the Hebrew חוּץ, and means "outside," "out of." Thus "out of the country," with verbs of rest, is מִבָּרָא לְאַרְעָא; with verbs of motion, as in the case before us, לְמִבָּרָא לְאַרְעָא. But if a MS. omitted this מ, and still more if it omitted also the second לְ, it would inevitably suggest the translation, "into the lower region," εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. The difference therefore in Aramaic between these two strangely divergent phrases is really very slight.

Mark = למברא לארעא
Luke = לברא ארעא

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4. In the narrative of the storm at sea we again have phrases used so similar as to suggest unity of source, and yet so diverse as to indicate translation from a slightly variant Aramaic text.

Matt. viii. 24.	Mark iv. 37.	Luke viii. 23.
ὥστε καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων τὸ πλοῖον.	ὥστε γεμίζεσθαι τὸ πλοῖον.	καὶ συνεπληροῦντο, καὶ ἐκινδύνευον.

The verbs on the first line, "was covered with waves," "was filling," "they were being filled," are clearly synonymous phrases. We would suggest the verb שְׁטַף as the probable original, which verb means to overflow, overwhelm, as in Psalm cxxiv. 4.

Then we have "the ship" in Matthew and Mark lying abreast of "were in danger" in Luke. Now we are able to fix confidently this latter phrase, for there is only one word in Aramaic, so far as I know, which possesses this meaning, and that is אִסְתַּכַּן, Ithpael of סְכַן. It occurs, for instance,

Deut. xxv. 3: Forty stripes shall be laid upon him; but with one less shall he be beaten, lest, if he be smitten beyond the thirty and nine, he *be in danger*. [The Palestinian Targum here illustrates 2 Corinthians xi. 24.]

"They were in danger" = אסתכנו. But the word for "ship" is סְפִינָא, or, as it is spelt in the Samaritan Targum, אספינו. Is it not probable that this provincial form of the word "ship" stood in the Aramaic text, and was by copyist or translator read אסתכנו, "they were in danger"?

5. We will here give a case connected with the practice of representing numbers by letters of the alphabet, in which we venture to think that three numerals have been mistaken for a complete word. It occurs in the interpretation of the parable of the sower, and in describing the varying degrees of fruitfulness of the seed sown, we read that they yield fruit—

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Matt. xiii. 23: ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν, ὁ δὲ ἑξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα.
Rev. Ver.: Some a hundred-fold, some sixty, some thirty.
Mark iv. 20: ἐν τριάκοντα, καὶ ἐν ἑξήκοντα, καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν.
Thirty-fold, and sixty-fold, and a hundred-fold.
Luke viii. 15: ἐν ὑπομονῇ.
With patience.

In accordance with the ancient mode of representing numerals by a letter of the alphabet, if we turn to any Greek codex we find:

Matthew: ο μεν ρ̄ ο δε ξ̄ ο δε λ̄.
Mark: εν λ̄ εν ξ̄ εν ρ̄.

There is a long-standing dispute whether εν should be read as the numeral ἓν or the preposition ἐν. The Latin codices for the most part read ἓν, the Greek and Syriac ἐν. The Revised Version gives ἐν, indicating "fold," as we say, "it yielded by the hundred"; but Lachmann, Anger, Alford, and others read ἓν in each case, "one thirty, one sixty, and one a hundred." There can be little doubt that our Revisers are correct; and if so, in an Aramaic codex we should certainly have in

Mark בל׳ ובס׳ ובק׳

and with almost equal certainty

Matthew בק׳ בס׳ בל׳

But just as there is vacillation as to the *order* of the numerals in our two Gospels, so the codices reveal uncertainty as to the occurrence of ἐν. The great codex B omits the second and third ἐν, and codex C omits the second ἐν. If we follow codex B, as probably carrying us back to the oldest text, we are led to the conclusion that the Aramaic text would be

בק׳ ס׳ ל׳ or בק׳ וס׳ ול׳

If in the Aramaic copy used by Luke the signs of abbreviation were omitted, what then? There is no Aramaic root קסל, but there is a Hebrew word כֶּסֶל, which

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means confidence, hope, patient waiting. And is not this precisely the meaning of *ὑπομονή*? In the Septuagint *ὑπομονή* is used ten times, always as the translation of a derivative of the root קָוָה = to hope for, to wait for with confidence. On two occasions where Jehovah is called "the hope of Israel" (Jer. xiv. 8, xvii. 13) the Greek word is *ὑπομονή*. But *ὑπομονή* is not equivalent to *ἐλπίς*. It is rather the underlying confidence which gives persistence to hope. If *ἐλπίς* is hope, *ὑπομονή* is the "patience of hope," the pertinacious, well-founded confidence which furnishes the pabulum to an ever buoyant hope. This is the force of *ὑπομονή* in the LXX. and, for the most part, in the New Testament, though in the Pauline epistles it glides into the meaning of "endurance." But if *ὑπομονή* means patient waiting, confiding hope, this is precisely the meaning of כֶּסֶל, as the following passages prove:

Prov. iii. 26: The Lord shall be thy *confidence*: He shall prevent thy foot from being taken.
Ps. lxxviii. 7: That they might set their *hope* on God.
Job viii. 14: Whose *confidence* shall break in sunder, and whose trust is a spider's web.
„ xxxi. 24: If I have made gold my hope, or said to fine gold, Thou art my *confidence*.

Many explanations have been given as to why our Lord's words should be in this instance differently reported in Luke, as compared with the other two evangelists. All three cannot be rigorously correct. We would submit as a probable theory, that in Luke's copy of the Aramaic Gospel the notes of abbreviation were absent, and the evangelist translated בקסל as one word. Two considerations render this increasingly probable. (1) The affinity between ק and כ, and their liability to be interchanged. (2) The frequency with which Luke seems to decipher his Aramaic MS. by an appeal to Hebrew.

6. In the discourse as to the legitimacy of divorce, when

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the Pharisees came to Christ, asking if it were lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause, the Saviour's reply is recorded with slight diversity:

Matt. xix. 4.	Mark x. 6.
ὁ ποιήσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς	ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κτίσεως
ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ	ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ
ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.	ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.

"He who made (them) from the beginning" thus stands in parallelism with "from the beginning of creation"; and then follows in both cases, "He made them male and female." The original passage is Genesis i. 27: "Male and female created (בָּרָא) He them." We believe then that the verb in the Aramaic Gospel would be בְּרָא; and "He who created" = דְּבָרָא; but the noun "creation" is בְּרְיָא: so that the only difference in the two first lines in an Aramaic text is the letter ʾ.

Matthew = מן אולא דברא
Luke = מן אולא דבריא

7. We have a striking case in the narrative of the raising of Jairus' daughter. We are told that the Saviour, after excluding all but the favoured three and the parents of the child, went into the room where she was, and what occurred there is thus narrated:

Mark v. 41.	Luke viii. 54.
κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς	κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς
τοῦ παιδίου	ἐφώνησε
λέγει αὐτῇ,	λέγων,
Ταλιθά, κοῦμι.	Ἡ παῖς, ἐγείρου.

The second line is remarkable, as giving in my judgment clear evidence of an Aramaic original. The regular word for "child" is רַבִּי, feminine רַבְיָא, or, in the Palestinian Targums, רִיבָא; but the verb which means "to call by name" is רַבֵּי, Pael of רְבָא. This verb occurs for instance

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Isa. xliii. 1: Fear not, I have *called thee* (רְקָרָאתִיךָ) by thy name, thou art mine.

Exod. xxxi. 2: Behold, I have *called* by name Bezalcel the son of Hur.

Jer. xx. 3: The Lord hath not *called* thy name Pashur, but They-who-slay-with-the-sword-shall-surround-thee-on-every-side. [Hebrew: Magor-missabib=terror on every side.]

As to the last line, we claim that the Aramaic Gospel contained the words טְלִיתָא קוּמִי = Maiden, arise. This is translated by Luke *ἡ παῖς, ἐγείρου*. By Mark, the words are first transliterated, and then translated *τὸ κοράσιον, ἔγειραι*. It is worthy of note that the word טְלִיתָא is found only in the Palestinian Targums; that is, those otherwise known as the Targum of Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum.

8. We will now, for the first time, turn to the narrative of the young man who came to Christ to know what he must do to inherit eternal life, and show what evidence it presents of having once existed in Aramaic.

Matt. xix. 16, 17.	Mark x. 17, 18.	Luke xviii. 18, 19.
καὶ ἰδού,	*καὶ*	*καὶ*
προσελθὼν εἷς	*προσδραμὼν εἷς*	*ἄρχών τις*
	καὶ γονυπετήσας αὐτὸν	
εἶπεν αὐτῷ·	*ἐπηρώτα αὐτόν,*	*ἐπηρωτήσεν αὐτόν·*
Διδάσκαλε,	*Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ,*	*Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ,*
τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω,	*τί ποιήσω*	*τί ποιήσας*
ἵνα ἔχω	*ἵνα κληρονομήσω*	*κληρονομήσω*
ζωὴν αἰώνιον;	*ζωὴν αἰώνιον;*	*ζωὴν αἰώνιον;*
ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ,	*ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ,*	*εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς,*
Τί με ἐρωτᾷς	*Τί με λέγεις*	*Τί με λέγεις*
περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ;	*ἀγαθόν;*	*ἀγαθόν;*
εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός.	*οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεός.*	*οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μή εἷς, ὁ Θεός.*

The regularity and substantial agreement in these parallel columns clearly bespeaks unity of source: yet there are slight verbal divergences which require the assumption of an Aramaic source for their elucidation. On the second

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line we have similarity in diversity, and when we recall that Aramaic, like Hebrew, has strictly no indefinite pronoun, but is obliged to use the numeral חַד = εἷς = "one," for τὶς = "a certain one," then the similarity is increased. Matthew says, "One came towards him"; Mark, supplementing this from the testimony of an eye-witness, says, "One ran towards Him, and knelt to Him." But the Aramaic verb "to come to meet," "to come in front of some person or thing," is קַדֵּם: as in Psalm lix. 11, "The God of my goodness comes-to-meet me"; 2 Kings xix. 32, "The king of Asshur shall not come-before this city with shields." But the adjective קַדְמַי means *first* in point of place, time, or rank: *e.g.* in the Syriac New Testament, in Colossians i. 18, we read, "That in all things He might be first" or "chief," דְּנָהוּא קַדְמַי בְּכֹל; and in Matthew xx. 27, the word קַדְמַי is used as the antithesis of עַבְדָּא: "Whosoever would be *chief*, let him be your bondservant." So in the Samaritan Targum, קדם is used of the rulers, or taskmasters, who exacted the tale of bricks after the straw had been withheld (Exod. v. 6, 13). It is doubtless a mere accident that instances so apposite as these do not seem to occur in the Jewish Targums. Luke, we suggest, knew from personal investigation that the young man was an ἄρχων, *i.e.* one of the first rank, a chief or ruler, and was thus predisposed to see an allusion to this in the word קדם, which the other evangelists connect with the verb קַדֵּם = to come to meet.

The difference between ἔχω, "that I may *possess*," and κληρονομήσω, "that I may *inherit*, eternal life," is nothing more than the difference between the stative and active meanings of יְרַת, which signifies both "to possess by hereditary right" and to "obtain as an inheritance."

Of much more importance is our Lord's reply. In the oldest and usually most reliable MSS., the reply given by our Lord is, in Matthew's Gospel, reported to have been,

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"Why askest thou Me concerning the good?" whereas in the other two synoptic Gospels we find, "Why callest thou Me good?" If we can show that in Aramaic there is only the difference of one letter between these two questions, it will surely be a gain to biblical scholarship; still more so, if it should ultimately lead us back to the one correct report of our Saviour's words. "Why callest thou Me good?" we read in Mark and Luke. If we follow the mere force of alliteration, perhaps the Old Testament passage which these words suggest to us is Isaiah v. 20: "Woe to them that call evil good, and good evil!" (הוי הָאֹמְרִים לָרַע טוֹב.) The Targum paraphrases these words. A *literal* Aramaic translation would be וַי דְאָמְרִין לְבִישׁ טַב. Following this analogy, we obtain for Mark and Luke

A. לְמָא אָמֵיר אַת לִי טַב

whereas the rendering in Matthew, "Why askest thou Me, or, speakest thou to Me, concerning the good?" is

B. לְמָא אָמֵר אַת לִי לְטַב or לְדְטַב

I prefer to wait for the co-operation of others before applying the results of our investigations to the criticism of the Greek text; but is it not probable that the somewhat rare use of אמר in the sense of "call" in *A* has led to *B*, and that *A* is the true reading?

The second part of the Saviour's reply presents still greater difficulties, owing to the number of various readings; but we venture to think that the difficulties are wonderfully relieved by our hypothesis. Let us examine the various renderings:

Matthew, R.V.: εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός.
Mark and Luke: οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεός.
Cur. Syriac: εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὁ Θεός. So Epiphanius.
Clem. *Strom.*: μόνος ἀγαθός ἐστιν [ὁ Θεός].

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Justin: εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθός ὁ Πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
So Marcosians in Irenæus.
Ptolemy: ἕνα γὰρ μόνον εἶναι ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Πατέρα.

We have here several very ancient readings, all derived, as we think, from the same original Aramaic text. It is a sound canon of literary criticism, that that reading is the most ancient from which all the others could be derived. What Aramaic text would, with very slight modifications, yield the variety of readings we have here presented? We would suggest

A. אִית אֶלָּא חַד דְּטַב

This means, "There is only one who is good." This is really the revised reading of Matthew: εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός, "One there is who is good," the prominent position of εἷς making it equivalent to εἷς μόνος. Ptolemy, whose writings are fragmentarily preserved in Epiphanius, retains the full text: ἕνα μόνον εἶναι ἀγαθόν.

A modification of this crept in, which we think was

B. אִית אֱלָהּ חַד דְּטַב

"It is God alone who is good," חַד meaning both *unus* and *solus*. This change was the more likely to be made, as recalling a passage of which the Jews were very fond (Deut. xxxiii. 26): לֵית אֱלָהּ אֶלָּא אֱלָהָא דְיִשְׂרָאֵל, "There is no God, only the God of Israel." *B* might also be rendered "There is one who is good, God," which is the reading of the Curetonian Syriac.

The next modification seems to have been

C. לֵית אֶלָּא חַד דְּטַב

This means, "There is none who is good save one." This variation would be liable to occur because אֶלָּא is usually employed with a negative. Then the combination of *B* and *C* yields our reading in Mark and Luke, "None is good

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save one, (that is) God." In Justin and others the word God is changed into Father from reverential motives.

One other instance in the same narrative is well worthy of our consideration.

Matt. xix. 22: ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν λόγον ἀπῆλθε λυπούμενος.
Mark x. 22: ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθε λυπούμενος.
Luke xviii. 23: ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα περίλυπος ἐγένετο.

The verb στυγνάζω means to be amazed, astounded, stupefied. There are in Aramaic two cognate verbs, שׁמם and שׁעמם, which have this meaning. The former is used of the stupefaction of Daniel, after he had listened to Nebuchadnezzar's dream (chap. iv. 19); and the latter is used of the consternation of Haman, when queen Esther said, "The adversary and enemy is this wicked Haman" (Est. vii. 6). Clearly either word could well describe the astonishment of the young man, who fancied himself sure of eternal life, but was told by one whose authority he revered, that for *him* at least nothing less than the surrender of all he possessed would save his soul from being corroded by worldliness. Assuming that the Gospel was first written in Aramaic, *one* of these verbs would certainly be used; and when we find abreast of this, in Matthew and Luke, ἀκούσας, *i.e.* שְׁמַע, does not this go far to turn the assumption into an established fact?

II. We will now direct our attention to instances in which the Aramaic words which are obtained by the retranslation of two divergent Greek words differ in the *transposition of two letters*. These are few in number, as indeed the results obtained by the comparison of 2 Samuel xxii. with Psalm xviii. and of the proper names in 1 Chronicles with the same names as given in the earlier books of Scripture, would have led us to suppose. We have there only one instance of this character. We have

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not more than four cases to adduce, as the result of our Aramaic researches, two of which have been already given.

1. In the narrative of lowering the paralytic through the roof, we find the word *ἐξορύξαντες* = "having dug out" (Mark ii. 4), standing in exact parallelism with *διὰ τῶν κεράμων*, "through the tiles" (Luke v. 19); and we showed, in our March paper, that the former is חָפְרִין, plural participle of חָפַר = to dig; while the word for "tiles" is פַּחְרִין.

2. In the two accounts of the Sermon on the Mount given respectively by Matthew and Luke, when Matthew says, "They shall say against you every evil," Luke says, "They shall cast out your name as evil." We suggested in our May paper, that the verb to "speak-against" would almost certainly be לוט or לטא. But if, instead of ילטון, the scribe inadvertently wrote ימלון, this would suggest the verb מוּל = to throw or cast, and explains the reading of Luke, "They shall *cast out* you, or your name, as evil."

3. In the parable of the sower, in recording what our Lord said about those who "have no root in themselves," while Matthew and Mark give *σκανδαλίζονται* = they stumble, Luke has *ἀφίστανται* = they fall away, apostatize. Now the verb which would certainly represent *σκανδαλίζω* is תְּקַל (= Hebrew כָּשַׁל), which, both in Peal and Ithpeal, means to stagger, to stumble. So Isaiah lix. 10, "We stumbled (אתקלנא) at noonday." But the verb to *fall away*, turn traitor, apostatize, is אִסְתְּלַק; *e.g.* in specifying who are not to partake of the passover, the so-called Targum of Jonathan mentions בַּר יִשְׂרָאֵל דְּאִסְתְּלַק = a son of Israel who has apostatized, fallen away from Judaism. When re-translated into Aramaic, the reading of Matthew and Mark requires יתתקלון or יתקלון, that of Luke, יסתלקון.

4. In the narrative of the miracle of the feeding of the multitude, there is a variant reading, which admits of solution in this way:

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Matt. xiv. 15.	Mark vi. 35.	Luke ix. 12.
ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες Ἔρημός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος, καὶ ἡ ὥρα ἤδη παρῆλθεν.	καὶ ἤδη ὥρας πολλῆς γενομένης προσελθόντες αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσι ὅτι Ἔρημός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος, καὶ ἤδη ὥρα πολλή.	ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤρξατο κλίνειν· προσελθόντες δὲ οἱ δώδεκα.

Here are surely abundant indications of free translation from a common source. On the first line, ὀψία = evening, stands abreast of ὥρα πολλή = a late hour; πολλή referring to the greatness of the number, drawing near to the twelfth hour. I would suggest that in the first line the original was והוה שעת ערבית = And it was the hour of evening, or, the hour of evening prayer. This Luke freely renders, "when the day began to wear away." In the last line we read in Matthew, "the hour (of prayer) has already gone by," יכדו שעתא עברת, the verb עָבְרַת being 3 s. f. pret. of עבר, which in Aramaic as in Hebrew means to go by, to go past; whereas the reading in Mark requires וכדו שעת עִרְבַת = already it is the evening hour, a late hour.

J. T. Marshall.

UZZIAH AND THE PHILISTINES.

There is perhaps no graver case of literary and historic injustice in the records of biblical study than the treatment accorded to the book of Chronicles, as respects its statements about Uzziah and his time, by one of the dominant schools of Old Testament criticism. As is well known, the critics to be named presently, parting company with their great pioneer Reuss, whose strength lay chiefly in literary judgment, feel themselves obliged to reject every historical statement in Chronicles not otherwise attested. Thus, in the matter now under inquiry, Wellhausen (*Encycl. Brit.*,

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xiii., p. 412, art. "Israel"; *Skissen und Vorarbeiten*, T, 58) followed by Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, § 355), ascribes to Uzziah nothing more than the possession of Edom and the use of its seaport, while he ridicules (*Proleg.*, p. 217) the statements of the Chronicles as to other enemies whom Uzziah is declared to have subdued. Stade, in his elaborate history, has nearly three pages devoted to Amaziah (*Gesch. des Volks Israel*, T, 567–569), while Uzziah is disposed of in half a dozen lines, because "the book of Kings has no warlike deeds to report of him." Dr. Robertson Smith, in his ingenious and instructive work, *The Prophets of Israel*, takes due care to credit Uzziah with a wide political influence (p. 203 f.), but he also excludes Chronicles from the sources of evidence (see also his article "Philistines," *Encycl. Brit.*, xviii., p. 755, note).

Wellhausen (*Proleg.* l.c.) makes the sweeping statement that "the triumphs with which Chronicles credits its favourites are, without exception, devoid of historical consequences (*Wirkung*), and have merely the momentary importance of raising the prestige of their respective reigns." Let us see how that applies to the case of Uzziah. According to Chronicles, he contended against the Philistines, razing the fortifications of Gath and Ashdod, and building up Jewish settlements in the territories of the latter city. This implies an extension of Jewish territory nearly as far as the Mediterranean. Such a state of things is altogether credible, and just what might have been expected from such a monarch as the traditional Uzziah. Do we find later traces of this alleged domination? Sennacherib implies in his report about Ekron, of 701 B.C., that Judah had held that city in vassalage; otherwise we cannot explain the surrender of its king to Hezekiah by his own subjects on account of his being a partisan of the Assyrians (Taylor, Cylinder II., 69 ff.). Of course Sennacherib makes also an assertion of lawful suzerainty; but this was simply the

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customary general title by which he made claim to all the conquests of his father Sargon, and it did not annul the specific rights of the kings of Judah. He also says that the cities which he had cut off from Judah he gave to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. This naturally means the towns and villages that lay in the neighbourhood of each of these cities respectively; for other settlements, situated farther eastward, and within territory originally Jewish, could not possibly be administered by these petty principalities, which had long ceased in such affairs to act in common. No doubt some of them are included in the list of towns which, according to 2 Chronicles xxviii. 18, were taken from Ahaz by the Philistines, and as we may infer from 2 Kings xviii. 8, retaken by Hezekiah. The question now comes up, How and when did Judah get possession of these districts? Everything points to Uzziah and his time. Before him Judah, as is universally admitted, played a part entirely secondary to Israel, and beyond its hereditary feuds with Edom, and occasional service rendered to the Northern Kingdom in its wars with Syria or Moab, did nothing of Palestinian importance,[1] and in general was not recognised as a factor in the affairs of Western Asia. With Uzziah all this is changed; and although among biblical records his deeds of national aggrandisement are detailed only in Chronicles, other evidence of their reality and permanent influence is not wanting. Tiglath-pileser III., the real founder of the Assyrian world-empire, makes mention of him in a passage which, although obscure on account of the defacement of the inscription, plainly reveals that this king of Judah was in some sort of league with the states of middle Syria—a situation entirely impossible before his day. Then we have the picture of Judah's power and riches presented in Isaiah ii., and drawn shortly after the death

[1] The tribute of "some of the Philistines," sent to Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xvii. 11), was evidently a transaction of a local and temporary character.

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of Uzziah, where the prophet describes a state of things not of sudden growth, but based on commercial traffic that had been carried on for a considerable period, and which could not have been conducted at all, unless the military influence of the nation had been widespread and well-established, securing, for example, the toll of the caravans that passed through the Philistian lowlands, and utilizing, with the Red Sea trade of Edom, the Philistian ports of Gaza and Joppa. Moreover, as far as the Philistines were concerned, they with the Moabites were normally within the sphere of Israelitish influence up to the time when, under Uzziah, Judah took its place as one among the nations.

After Uzziah, there seems to be little place for the occasions of that Judæan expansion which is a matter of history. It will not be claimed that the reign of Ahaz was favourable to the extension of territory, and the successes attributed to Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 7 f.) were necessarily of but short duration and limited scope. During the administration of both these kings, the operations of the Assyrian invaders in Palestine, and the pressure of the Assyrian claims, intermittent perhaps, but of certain recurrence, rendered impossible such radical changes of international relations as those ascribed to the agency of Uzziah in Chronicles, and apparently implied in the cuneiform inscriptions. What Hezekiah achieved against the Philistines amounted evidently to a successful campaign, in which, as above indicated, the authority of Judah was, in part at least, re-established, and the country ravaged as far as Gaza. Stade (*op. cit.*, p. 624) and W. R. Smith (*Encycl. Brit.*, xviii., p. 756) refer this action of Hezekiah which, being recorded in Kings and not in Chronicles, they regard as historical, to a time after his deliverance from Sennacherib; but they fail to explain the relations between Judah and the Philistines at the time of the great Assyrian invasion.

I may mention, in passing, a circumstance which may

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possibly afford a corroboration of Chronicles in another statement relating to Uzziah. It is recorded (2 Chron. xxvi. 7) that he also subdued certain of the Arabian tribes. Now, curiously enough, the inscription of Sennacherib already cited makes reference (III. 31 ff.) to Arabs who served (of course as vassals) along with the native Jewish soldiers in the defence of Jerusalem. These peoples may conceivably have been brought under Jewish control by Ahaz or Hezekiah; but in view of the conditions just indicated, it is not very probable.

But the evidence of the credibility of the statements in Chronicles is not exhausted by these arguments. Many proper names of Philistian rulers are met with in the inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib; and it is a remarkable phenomenon that the most of them show marks of having the name *Yahu*, or its contraction *Ya*, as one of their constituents. Thus the king of Askalon is Ṣidḳā, contracted from צדקיהו, Zedekiah; that of Ekron is Pādī-Pādīyāh; that of Ashdod is *Mitintī*, with great probability considered as Mattithiah (Schrader K and T² 162 f.). How are we to account for the occurrence of these and similar cases? The Philistines, as far as we know, did not voluntarily adopt the worship of Israel, either in whole or in part, and a perpetuation of the feelings which prompted the offerings mentioned in 1 Samuel vi. 3, 17 f. is not to be thought of. Schrader (cp. *op. cit.*, p. 24) thinks of a simple borrowing of the cultus of Jehovah along with the name, and asserts that this was in conformity with a custom common among ancient nations. But this is a mistake so far as such a custom is supposed to hold good of Semitic peoples. Conquered nations, or those for any reason entering into servitude to other states, adopted, as a matter of compulsion and principle, the religion of their over-lords, or at least acknowledged it in addition to their own. The reason of this procedure was that a certain form of religious

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worship, or the cult of a particular deity, was bound up with the very idea of national existence; and when the political life of any community was modified by the influence of another community, a religious syncretism was regularly the result. This is, in fact, the key to the history of the ancient Orient. Or when an alliance was made between two states, particularly when cemented by a marriage between members of the reigning families, an addition to the authorized worship might be made. This last case was however exceptional in the history of Western Asia. It may be illustrated by the introduction into Israel of the worship of the Phœnician Baal, when Ahab married Jezebel, a princess of the latter country; or by the adoption of the god Nebo by the Assyrians when Rammaunirari III., the conqueror of Damascus, married the Babylonian princess Semiramis. It is, moreover, capable of explanation on the general principle above enunciated. As between Philistia and Judah, we can only think of a transfer of deities as being due to a state of vassalage entered into by the former.

Schrader supposes that such changes of name were made especially in connexion with the accession of a new ruler. This may perhaps explain such a case as that of Uzziah himself with his alternate name Azariah, by which he was known to foreign nations. In those cases however of which we know the history, this was not the occasion of the change. Jehoiakim, when made king, had his name changed from Eliakim (2 Kings xxiii. 34), and Zedekiah was bidden to drop his old name Mattaniah (2 Kings xxiv. 17); but the motive of this significant step was not their accession to the throne, but their coming into bonds to their respective suzerains. A fine parallel to the Philistian examples referred to above is afforded by another prince of the Philistines called Sarludari. He was imposed as king by Sennacherib upon the people of Askalon (Taylor, Cylinder

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ii. 63), and accordingly took this Assyrian name, by which he is known in the inscriptions. A further parallel may perhaps be found in the case of Ahaz. It has never been made clear why the name of this king of Judah appears as *Ya'uhazi* in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III. The explanation preferred by Schrader, that the later Jews dropped the supposed original prefix on account of the idolatrous practices of the bearer of the name raises the question why he was treated so invidiously as compared with others, Aholiah for example, and also why there are no traces of the fuller form in any of the ancient versions. Not every king of Israel or Judah had a name compounded with Yahu, and Ahaz was a name otherwise occurring in the simple form (1 Chron. viii. 35; ix. 42). May not the explanation be afforded by 2 Kings xvi. 7, where Ahaz sends a message to Tiglath-pileser: "I am thy servant and thy son; come up and save me"? Here Ahaz formally contracts to become the vassal of Assyria, and by virtue of that new relation to one who was to stand to him as master and father, he may very well have received a change of or addition to his name. It may be mentioned, by the way, that the idolatries introduced by Ahaz were doubtless Assyrian in their origin, and that the religious rites which he saw practised in Damascus (2 Kings xvi. 10 ff), as Duncker perceived, were also Assyrian. They could not have been Syrian, as is generally supposed; for Israel and Judah had been familiar with their rites for centuries, nor would the religion of a prostrate people like that of Damascus have had any claim upon the Jews, their fellow subjects. The consideration of the claims of the gods of the sovereign nation upon the religious homage of the conquered peoples throws a flood of light upon the attitude assumed by the prophets of Israel and Judah towards all questions of international relations. To return to the main subject of discussion, it seems almost superfluous to add a reference to the many passages of the

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Bible in which the conferring of a name is, in phraseology based upon immemorial Semitic usage, connected with ownership and proprietorship (*e.g.* Exod. xxxiii. 12, 17; Ps. xlix. 11, cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26, xliii. 1, xliv. 5, xlv. 3, xlix. 1). So also Abram, Jacob, and Saul of Tarsus received new names on entering upon a new service; that is, on undergoing a change of religious relations.

There is, then, evidence of a powerful and deep-rooted Jewish influence in Philistia at the close of the eighth century B.C. which cannot be accounted for as the work merely of Ahaz, or of Hezekiah, or of both.

Reference might perhaps be made to Isaiah xiv. 28 ff., where Delitzsch, Orelli, and Reuss (*Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, p. 518), with other authorities of the first name, find an allusion to Uzziah's conquests in ver. 29, "The rod that smiteth thee." But as there is great difference of opinion as to the historical application of the figures employed in this passage, it is not expedient to press it into service in the present contention. With more confidence perhaps might Amos i. 6–8 be cited, since it is clear that, unless we are to look for the fulfilment of these detailed threats against the Philistines in the time of the Assyrian invasion, which is alluded to only as a great general fact by that prophet, we have to find it in the alleged conquests of Uzziah.

A glance at the map of southern Palestine, with a moderate knowledge of the ancient history and civilization of the peoples inhabiting that and the neighbouring regions, is sufficient to convince any one that Judah could never have attained to that degree of prosperity and power which we know it to have reached in the early days of Isaiah's ministry, without having had a prolonged control over the Philistian plain and the borderlands. The facts adduced in the present brief inquiry may go to show that not only had a large part of the Philistine country been under

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Jewish political influence, but that it had been to a considerable extent actually Judaized. However this may be, it may be safely set down as established that events just such as those ascribed in Chronicles to Uzziah must necessarily have occurred, else Jewish history would have been quite different from what we know it to have been. The failure to recognise this outstanding fact serves to illustrate the principle that historical investigation must not be made an occupation secondary and ancillary to the criticism of the documents which constitute its basis. Theoretical reconstructions of history are always to be suspected which lose sight of historic cause and effect under an engrossing anxiety lest current data should prove untrustworthy.

J. F. McCURDY.

THE ROMAN RECKONING OF THE DAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE EXPOSITOR."

DEAR SIR,—

In Dr. Sanday's notice of my volume on the Gospel of St. John, he finds fault with the statement that St. John probably adopted the Roman reckoning of the hours of the day and counted noon the sixth hour. "This method of counting," says Professor Sanday, "was not at all peculiarly 'Roman,' but was, in fact, almost universal. It was rather the other method of counting—the evidence perhaps does not permit us to say the *hours*, but the *day*—from midnight which more properly deserves to be called 'Roman.'" I should be glad to believe that this is the grossest inaccuracy in my volume. The fact is, I was at some pains to ascertain the Roman method; and besides the evidence adduced in Mr. Cross' paper, to which Professor Sanday refers, two other witnesses convinced me that the Romans did reckon from sunrise. The one witness is that of the ancient Roman sun-dials, on which noon is denoted by VI. This is decisive. The other witness is the epigram (iv. 8) of Martial on the routine of the Roman day.

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"Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora,
Exercet raucos tertia causidicos:
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit."

My apology for calling this the "Roman" method is that, as opposed to our modern method, and as that which from the fact of its being Roman was likely to be "almost universal," "Roman" is a convenient and not unusual designation.

I should not have thought it worth while calling attention to this point, had I not feared that Dr. Sanday's great and well-deserved authority might have led incautious readers of his criticism to suppose that the Romans were in the habit of reckoning the hours from midnight.

MARCUS DODS.

MY point was, that as the Romans had *two* methods of reckoning the hours of the day, one in popular and general use, which they shared with many other peoples, from sunrise to sunset, and the other exceptional and peculiar, confined among themselves to certain legal and technical purposes, from midnight to midnight, it was misleading to describe the *former* by the distinctive name of "Roman." I am afraid that Dr. Dods' letter still leaves me with this opinion, of which I do not, of course, exaggerate the importance. Full evidence bearing upon the second mode of reckoning will be found in Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag* (Stuttgart, 1888), p. 198 ff.

W. SANDAY.

OLD TESTAMENT NOTES.

Klostermann versus Kautzsch and Socin.—In the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1891, Heft 9) Professor Klostermann has published a rejoinder to the remarks of Professors Kautzsch and Socin referred to in THE EXPOSITOR for August (p. 157). He again insists on the necessity of revising the Hebrew text by the help of conjecture—not mere arbitrary conjecture, but such as is practised in his work on Samuel and Kings. It is a fundamental error, he says, to suppose that the genesis of the Tōrāh can be traced by analysing the existing

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Hebrew text. In the course of the essay he proposes to correct ἠγάπησεν in John xiii. 1 into ἤγνισεν, which alone, he thinks, makes a faithful exegesis possible. Professor Klostermann admires our own great Bentley. But what has been the fate of Bentley's Horace and Milton?

Psalm li. 5.—In the excellent chapter on the Psalms in Professor Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament* there occurs a forcibly expressed note on Psalm li., at the conclusion of which it is admitted that "even ver. 5 might be parallel, as in thought with Isaiah xliii. 27, so in figure with Isaiah xliv. 2, 24, xlviii. 8," but urged that "probably it is better to suppose the psalmist to be speaking individually as a representative Israelite." Thus in this case Dr. Driver introduces or affirms a variation in the psalmist's mode of thought (the speaker elsewhere in the psalm being the nation, conceived of as an entity), as in vers. 18, 19 (compared with vers. 16, 17) he effaces, or at least denies one. I trust that readers will kindly not overlook the passages in my own *Bampton Lectures* (see pp. 265, 427), in which I have suggested as a probability that the psalmists contemplated the use of certain passages of their writings in a twofold sense, *e.g.* sometimes nationalistic, sometimes individualistic; and again, sometimes of life in God enjoyed on this side the grave, sometimes with regard to the same higher life on the other side. On this theory it is open to any one to suppose that ver. 5 was meant to refer either to the nation or to the individual. Or as a compromise we might apply Stekhoven's theory (that individualizing psalms were expanded and modified so as to suit the nation) to the case of Psalm li. 5. But I cannot see that Professor Driver's view of ver. 5 is either needed or very natural. Surely here, as elsewhere, the psalmist's expressions are modelled on those of his favourite prophet (the Second Isaiah). Notice at once the strength of his faith and the depth of his humility. "Thy first father hath sinned," says Jehovah by the prophet; "therefore I gave Jacob to the ban, and Israel to reproaches" (Isa. xliii. 27, 28). "In sin did my mother conceive me," replies Israel by the psalmist; "therefore, since I am so weak by nature, forgive me, O my God, for the past, and strengthen me for the future." One is reminded of the Syro-Phœnician woman's plea for mercy in Matthew xv. 27.

Psalm lxxiv.—It has often been pointed out that one feature

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of the pathetic description in Psalm lxxiv. agrees better with the havoc wrought in the temple by Nebuchadrezzar's army than with the outrages of Antiochus Epiphanes, so far as these are known to us; *viz.* the burning of the temple (ver. 7). Some students may perhaps be helped by a quotation from a work of one of the most interesting of the Caroline Anglican divines, Dr. Thomas Jackson, Dean of Peterborough and president of that famous Oxford college (Corpus Christi), of which Jewell and Hooker were also ornaments, who remarks as follows: "Reading Josephus, I cannot but acknowledge Jeremiah's Lamentation, as well for a prophecy of these late times under Vespasian and Titus, as an history or elegy of the miseries that had befallen Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. . . . These words (Lam. ii. 17, 19) perhaps were meant, in divers measures, of both calamities; but the complaint following of the later only under Titus (vers. 20–22)." "Many particulars, here set down by Jeremy, are not so much as once intimated by the sacred story, which describes the siege by Nebuchadnezzar. . . . [His] host perhaps slew some, but had no occasion to make a general massacre in the temple, destitute of attendants ere it was taken, the king and his greatest commanders being first fled into the wilderness; nor was it destroyed until the heat of war was past, and most of the people led into captivity" (Jackson, *Works*, ed. 1844, vol. i., pp. 189, 190). The inference drawn by Jackson, *viz.* that prophecies have a germinal fulfilment, may perhaps point the way to a truth; but we can hardly follow him in the view that prophecies like those of Isaiah and Jeremiah and liturgical psalms like the Lamentations are to be classed together. There seems no way out of the difficulty but to assume that the writers of liturgical poems were sometimes led by the vehemence of their emotion into exaggeration. This would be easiest when they wrote some time after the events described had taken place. For my own part, I cannot see that this solution is the best for Psalm lxxiv., but it is open to any one to think otherwise. In another passage of his *Works*, Dean Jackson virtually assigns Psalm lxxiv. to the Maccabæan age.

The Book of Daniel.—Professor de Lagarde's remarkable article on Havet's *La modernité des prophètes*, which appeared not long ago in the *Götting. gel. Anzeigen*, has now been inserted in vol. iv. of his *Mittheilungen*. It would be unfair, and perhaps imprudent, to attempt to summarise the pages in which this

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modern Scaliger justifies his view of the meaning and date of Daniel vii. Suffice it to say, that he places Daniel vii. in 69 A.D.—a development of the not unplausible theory of the composite origin of the book of Daniel which will surprise many. That the professor does not agree with Havet's view of prophetic "modernity" need not be said.

The Book of Lamentations.—A fresh philological treatment of this interesting book has long been a *desideratum*. This has now been given by Dr. Max Löhr, a young Königsberg scholar. He accepts the results of Budde's very able essay on the Hebrew elegy, mentioning however Mr. Ball's attempt to show a syllabic metre. None of the Lamentations are post-Exilic (against Stade). Chaps. ii.–iv. are connected, chaps. i. and v. having been added to adapt the central portion to liturgical use. The "naive mingling of Jeremianic and non-Jeremianic elements," and the "naive way in which the author allows his personality to appear towards the end of chap. iv," are characteristic of the original writer. Dr. Löhr's philology is careful.

Colossians ii. 18.—Professor de Lagarde in that work of painfully multifarious contents, fitly called *Mittheilungen* (iv. 131), finds a corner for a "noble emendation of Colossians ii. 18" due to "the Englishmen"—*ἀέρα κενεμβατεύων*. He feels, as most persons who have a sensitive ear will feel, that *ἃ ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων* cannot be the original reading. But why does he not mention the step towards the "nobler" reading taken by the industrious Griesbach, who is vastly more suggestive on this passage than either Lachmann or Tregelles?

T. K. CHEYNE.

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THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

II. The External Evidence.

What exactly is it that, in the case of the Fourth Gospel, external evidence can be expected to do? It can hardly "prove" that the Fourth Gospel was written by St. John, in a strict sense of the word "prove." Let us take another example. Some fifteen years ago the authorship of the *Vita Antonii*, commonly attributed to St. Athanasius, was challenged by a German scholar, Weingarten,[1] whose results were accepted by Professor Gwatkin[2] and apparently by Dr. Hatch,[3] though questioned with his usual vigour and knowledge by Keim,[4] and since examined rather more at length in a monograph by Eichhorn.[5] Here the state of the case as regards external evidence is this. Athanasius died in A.D. 373. The *Vita Antonii* is mentioned as one of his works by Gregory Nazianzen, in a panegyric upon him, delivered soon after 380. Ephraem Syrus died in the same year as Athanasius, and he too mentions the work as by him. Jerome names Athanasius as the author, *De Vir. Ill.* 87, 88, 125, written about A.D. 393. Before this however, in 375–6, he was already aware that the work had been translated into Latin. The translator was Evagrius, presbyter and afterwards bishop of Antioch, and his version

[1] First in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.* (1876), pp. 10–21.
[2] *Studies in Arianism*, pp. 100–103.
[3] *Bampton Lectures*, p. 154.
[4] *Aus dem Urchristenthum* (1878), p. 207 f.
[5] *Athanasii de Vita Ascetica Testimonia Collecta.* (Halle, 1886.)

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appears to have been made before the death of Innocentius, a friend of Jerome to whom it was addressed, in 374. As this version is headed *Athanasius episcopus ad peregrinos fratres*,[1] Evagrius himself seems to have regarded Athanasius as the author of the original. It is also expressly ascribed to him in the prologue to the *Life* of St. Ambrose (died 397) by Paulinus, his secretary; by Rufinus of Aquileia, who died 410; in the *Life* of Pachomius, said to be of the fourth century; in the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, written in 420; and by Socrates the historian, writing about 439; besides a number of other references which do not name the author. A mass of evidence like this I think we may call decisive, and such as to overbear even some internal difficulties. When we consider the various quarters from which the evidence comes, with so many different centres, at Constantinople, Antioch, Edessa, Palestine, Egypt, North Italy, it proves that the *Life* must have passed for the work of St. Athanasius during his lifetime, when not only might its authorship have been easily questioned, but when the motive for foisting it upon him would hardly have been operative.

We cannot of course expect anything like this for the Gospel of St. John. Direct and express ascription to the Apostle begins with Theophilus of Antioch (c. 181 A.D.), we may say, roughly speaking, about a hundred years after the Gospel was composed. From that time it is of course rapidly taken up in a number of the most diverse quarters; it has perhaps already had an elaborate commentary written upon it by the Gnostic Heracleon; it has been used by the heathen philosopher Celsus (c. 178); and it has been included in the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. We have abundant proof that from the beginning of the last quarter of the second century the Fourth Gospel is firmly rooted in every branch of the Christian Church, with that one exception of

[1] So Migne's text, evidently from the MSS. (*P.G.* xxvi. 837).

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which I shall speak shortly. This consent, strong as it is, no doubt carries us some way back; and it receives corroboration from the traces, of which we shall also have more to say presently, that the Gospel was known and used in the interval. Still, upon the face of it, there is this difference from the *Vita Antonii*, that in the one case direct ascription begins in the lifetime of the author, in the other it is delayed for something like a century. It is obvious to say that an interval like this must prevent the evidence from being decisive. Though again, on the other hand, there are several things to be considered. (1) If we take the ordinary standard of evidence to ancient, and especially to Greek, writings, the Gospel of St. John holds a high place among them. How many, even of the best known classics, rest upon MSS. not older than the tenth or eleventh centuries, and upon the testimony of writers removed by two, three, four, or more centuries from the original! But for the Gospel of St. John we have first-rate MSS. from the fourth century onwards; one version at least certainly (the Latin), and others probably (the Syriac in a high, the Egyptian perhaps in a lower degree) much earlier; and testimonies, abundant, copious, and express all through the second century after composition. (2) Though in the first century the evidence is comparatively scanty, and not quite direct or express, yet much of it shows (notably the *Diatessaron* and Heracleon's *Commentary*) that the Gospel was regarded as authoritative, and that it was interpreted on the same principles as the Old Testament. (3) If the evidence is scanty, this is in large measure due simply to the scantiness of Christian literature. The generations which filled this obscure period (80–180 A.D.) were not much given to writing; and their most elaborate works —the *Exegetica* of Basilides, the *Expositions* of Papias, the *Histories* of Hegesippus—have not survived. (4) The evidence, such as it is, is in some respects specially good in

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quality. Though the date at which Irenæus wrote his book, *Against Heresies*, is nearly a hundred years after that at which St. John may be supposed to have written the Gospel, there is only a single link between him and the Apostle: he was the pupil of Polycarp, and Polycarp of St. John. Irenæus also frequently appeals to certain venerable persons, "the presbyters," as he calls them, who belonged to the same circle. And besides Irenæus, even under the unfavourable circumstances from the scantiness of the literature to which I have referred, the witnesses to the Fourth Gospel include nearly all the prominent names in the Church of Asia Minor, where it is said to have been written.

In such a condition of things, surely those who would cut all connexion between the Gospel and the Apostle leave behind them a great mass of difficulties. I am less sure that the conditions might not be sufficiently satisfied if the author were a disciple of the Apostle. There would then be no greater difficulty in accounting for the transference of his name to it than there is in accounting for the like transference in the case of St. Matthew. I could also myself believe it possible (I do not say probable) that the Gospel was the work of "the presbyter John" rather than the Apostle. The evidence points, as I think, distinctly to a certain time and a certain place; it is less clear in pronouncing a particular name or in fixing the identity of a particular person.

With these preliminary remarks on the general character of the evidence, I will now go over the more debatable ground with Dr. Schürer. It will be seen at once that I cannot agree with his estimate of the external evidence, careful and apparently judicial as it is: "The utmost one can admit in an unprejudiced way is that the external evidence is evenly balanced *pro* and *con*, and leads to no decision. Perhaps however it would be truer to say, it is

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more unfavourable than favourable to the authenticity." [1] I should have no hesitation at all in reversing this verdict.

Still there are certain points where I can go some way with Dr. Schürer, and I will begin with these.

In the first place, I am prepared to admit that English critics, myself among them, have not allowed quite enough for the so called Alogi.[2] I do not think that very much need be allowed for the existence of this party: still, so far as it goes, it does mark a break in the circle of consent, which otherwise, by the time of Irenæus, girdles the whole of what is known of Christendom.

Our information respecting these deniers of the Fourth Gospel, to whom, as is well known, Epiphanius gave the mocking name of "Alogi," comes from two sources, Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 11, 9, and Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. It is probable that the same persons are referred to by both writers. There is also a slight mention of them by Philastrius (*Hær.* 60). We know further, from the inscription on his statue, that Hippolytus wrote a work in defence of the Fourth Gospel and Apocalypse. It appears to be distinctly probable that the long discussion in Epiphanius really goes back to Hippolytus,[3] though much of it seems to be an enlargement by Epiphanius himself in the shape of an elaborate *excursus* on the chronology of the Gospels. Hilgenfeld goes so far as to fix the date of the Hippolytean original from which Epiphanius is quoting from some interesting but tantalizing chronological data given by Epiphanius at the year 218; but the reckoning seems precarious, and is disallowed by Zahn. Lightfoot, with better reason, ascribes to Hippolytus the invention of the

[1] *Contemporary Review*, p. 416.

[2] The most adequate account of the Alogi in English is perhaps Bishop Lightfoot's, in THE EXPOSITOR for 1890, p. 4 f.

[3] So Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.*, p. 600; Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kan.* i. 223 ff.; Harnack, *N. T. um d. Jahr* 200, p. 59; Salmon in *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iii. 99; Lightfoot, *Clement* ii. 394, ed. 2.

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name "Alogi," noting a similar play upon *νοητός*, *ἀνόητος* and *δοκός*, *δοκεῖν*, *δοκηταί*.[1] Though it is generally agreed that Irenæus and Epiphanius (*i.e.* Hippolytus) are describing the same persons, their opposition to the Fourth Gospel is made to rest on different grounds. From Irenæus we should gather that their interest was anti-Montanistic: in order to cut away the ground from those who professed to belong to a special dispensation of the Paraclete, they denied the Gospel which contained the promise of the Paraclete. In Epiphanius the opposition appears to be directed to the doctrine of the Logos;[2] and there is also some internal criticism of the Fourth Gospel by comparison with the Synoptics. Several writers, Heinichen, Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, and Harnack,[3] identify these opponents of the Logos with the Theodotian Monarchians. And it seems to me hard to escape the plain statement of Epiphanius[4] that the Theodotians are "a branch (*ἀπόσπασμα*) of the Alogos heresy," though there is, it is true, this real difficulty, that the same writer makes them use a verse of St. John (viii. 40: *ἄνθρωπον ὃς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμῖν λελάληκα*). Perhaps something of this kind may be near the truth. There was a rationalistic party—or tendency, perhaps we should say, rather than party—in the north-west of Asia Minor which directed its opposition at once against Montanism and against the Johannean writings. This latter however had not quite hardened into a definite dogma; it was not a universal tenet with those who were otherwise allied in opinion; so that the Fourth Gospel could be used at times when it served their purpose. In this way we may also account for the seeming tolerance extended to them, though the Church did not purge itself of heresy so promptly in

[1] References *ut sup.*

[2] Zahn denies this (p. 247), but I side on this point rather with Harnack (*N. T. um* 200, p. 63 ff.).

[3] See Hilgenfeld *ut sup.*; Zahn, p. 249 n.; Harnack, p. 65.

[4] *Hær.* liv. 1.

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these early days as it did later. Both Irenæus and Epiphanius accuse them of the sin against the Holy Ghost. As to their local distribution, Theodotus himself was a native of Byzantium; we find the party in some force at Thyatira;[1] and Theodotus probably took with him some of its influence to Rome. In time, it probably flourished in the last quarter of the second century.[2] I incline to think, here with Hilgenfeld and Zahn against Harnack, that there is a covert reference to this party in the Muratorian Fragment.[3] The stress which is laid in this on the writing of the Gospels, in spite of their different *principia*, corresponds with the elaborate comparison of the openings of the four Gospels in Epiphanius, and the proof that they do not contradict each other. Taking all the *data* together, it is clear that a certain stir was made in the literature of the time, although it would seem, and the language of Epiphanius would lead us to infer, that the sect was not a numerous or powerful one.[4]

When it is asked what degree of importance is to be attached to the existence of these opinions in their bearing upon the Fourth Gospel, the answer would seem to be that they are more important in their bearing upon the history of the formation of the canon of the Gospels than in their bearing upon the particular question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The Alogi, like other opponents of the Apocalypse, avenged themselves upon the obnoxious books by attributing them to Cerinthus. It is clear therefore that they had no external tradition to go upon. What tradition they had is so far in favour of the early date of the Gospel, that it assigns it, if not to St. John, yet to a con-

[1] Epiph., *Hær.* li. 33.

[2] Zahn places the appearance of the Alogi about the year 170 A.D. (*Gesch. d. K.* i. 257); Harnack about 160 A.D. (*Dogmengesch.* i. 307, ed. 2).

[3] Zahn, *G. d. K.* i. 222; Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.*, p. 599; Harnack, *N. T. um* 200, p. 69.

[4] ὀλίγον τῇ δυνάμει.—*Hær.* li. 35.

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temporary and companion figure of St. John. But the real grounds of objection were evidently not historical, but dogmatic and critical. As against the clear recognition of the Gospel at the date when these objections were raised in Asia Minor as well as elsewhere—by Melito, by Claudius Apollinaris, by Polycrates, in the affiliated Churches of Vienne and Lyons, by Irenæus, the inheritor of the traditions of Polycarp—they cannot count for much. They prevent us from speaking of complete unanimity, but hardly more.

Another point, which I should myself abstain from pressing, is the evidence of the *Clementine Homilies*. The discovery of Dressel's MS. placed the use of the Fourth Gospel in the *Homilies* beyond a doubt; but there still remains the question as to the date to which the evidence belongs, and we cannot confidently assert that this is one at which its weight in the scale would be considerable. After the time of Irenæus a single witness, however clear, is of no great importance; but it is more probable that the *Homilies* in their present form are after Irenæus than before.

Much the same thing applies to the Muratorian Fragment. I was for some time in the habit of dating this about the year 170 A.D.; but I now think that this is too early. I do not think that we can safely put the original before about 200. Zahn descends a little lower, to about 210 A.D.[1] It will be remembered that Bishop Lightfoot conjectured that it might be an early work of Hippolytus, written about 190 A.D.[2] The year 200 A.D., as an approximate date, is one to which I think that not much exception can be taken.

Here the qualifications which I should be inclined to put

[1] *Gesch. d. K.* ii. 136.
[2] *Clement.* ii. 405 ff., 495.

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upon my own former statement of the evidence end.[1] For the rest I cannot but think that the case has been considerably strengthened by the discoveries and investigations of recent years.

It is in particular a fact of no small importance to be able to lay our hands on the actual *Diatessaron* of Tatian, at least or something definite and tangible which is near enough to the *Diatessaron* for our purpose. The *Address to the Greeks* made it clear that Tatian used the Fourth Gospel, and reasonable people had little doubt that extracts from the same Gospel were included in the *Diatessaron*. Now we have the extracts before our eyes.

The importance of this is, in a large measure, indirect, because it strengthens the chain in regard to Justin. If Justin's pupil marked off the four canonical Gospels in such a way as to compose a harmony of them and of them only, it becomes increasingly probable that Justin himself meant the same four Gospels by the "Memoirs of the Apostles" to which he refers as his authorities. Justin is writing, not as a bishop for his flock, but as a philosopher and man of letters for a wider public; he therefore aims at a more classical-sounding title than that to which the little communities of Christians were becoming accustomed. That by the "Memoirs" he means our four Gospels is not of course dependent upon any reflected evidence of Tatian's, but it is confirmed by that evidence. With the three Synoptic Gospels we are not concerned. Neither is it necessary any longer to prove that Justin was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel. The position now usually taken up by those who question the genuineness of the Gospel is that he was acquainted with it, but used it so sparingly as to show that he did not regard it as possessing apostolic

[1] I am glad to see however that in 1876 I spoke with due caution as to the *Clementine Homilies*, and left open the space 170–190 A.D. for the Muratorian canon (*Gosp. in Second Cent.*, pp. 161, 265).

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authority. This is the view adopted by Dr. Schürer. It is also the view which was somewhat elaborately maintained in this country by Dr. Edwin A. Abbott.[1]

In reference to this position, I may perhaps be allowed to repeat some remarks which I made in my *Inaugural Lecture* delivered February 21st, 1883.

"'Use proves knowledge, but comparatively sparing use proves doubt and hesitation.' It is evident, upon the face of it, that the inference here is most precarious. How many other causes will account for the sparing use of any particular document besides the attribution to it of defective authority! Possibly the reason may have been some quite trivial mechanical one, such as that Justin had only intermittent access to a MS. of the document in question; for Justin was a somewhat migratory person, and to carry about a whole Bible, Old Testament as well as New, was not such an easy matter in those days. Besides, though the Fourth Gospel is now known to have been certainly circulated in the first half of the second century, it would seem to have come into circulation somewhat slowly. To begin with, it was probably written some twenty years later than St. Matthew and St. Mark, and at least ten years after St. Luke. The Synoptic tradition thus had time to pre-occupy the public mind, while its apparent simplicity made it more readily assimilated. The relative frequency with which the Synoptic Gospels are quoted is only what we should have expected beforehand. And the disproportion between the references to St. John, as compared with St. Mark and St. Luke, is not greater, if it is so great, as that between these Gospels and St. Matthew. At almost every turn it seems to me that some other hypothesis will equally well explain the facts alleged by Dr. Abbott. But there is one simple argument what I cannot but think sufficient to invalidate his whole position. By precisely the same mode of reasoning it might be proved that Justin recognised none, or only one, of St. Paul's Epistles, at a time when his opponent, the heretic Marcion, certainly recognised ten of them."[2]

The question of the use of the Fourth Gospel by Justin remains much as it was when this was written. Nothing better on the subject has yet appeared, or is likely to appear, than the three articles contributed by Dr. James

[1] In two articles in the *Modern Review* for July and October, 1881.

[2] *The Study of the New Testament*, etc., p. 10 f.

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Drummond to the *Theological Review* in October, 1875, and April and July, 1877, and the exact and searching examination in Dr. Ezra Abbot's *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, 1880. With these before us, we must not, I think, be too ready to concede that Justin's use of the Gospel is quite so sparing as it is sometimes made out to be. I am not going again over ground which has been so admirably worked already. I would only point out two things: First, that Dr. Drummond and Dr. Ezra Abbot between them have clearly made out that the doctrine of the Logos, which bears so large a place in Justin, however much in its expansion and development it may have been affected by Philo and the Stoics, yet has its roots in the Johannean doctrine, and derives from that its specifically Christian features. Justin certainly is fully possessed with the idea of the incarnation. He uses for it not once or twice, but repeatedly, the phrases *σαρκοποιηθείς*, *ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος*, which can have come from no other source but the Fourth Gospel.[1] He also distinctly held the doctrine of the pre-existence of the Logos, and appeals for it to his authorities, which in this case cannot be the Synoptics. He further directly applies to the Logos the title *μονογενής*, again appealing to the "Memoirs," which cannot be anything else than St. John i. 14, 18. Here too I must distinctly hold that Dr. Drummond and Dr. Ezra Abbot have clearly made out their case, though it has met with opposition. And quite independently of our English and American scholars, Dr. Resch speaks of the reference to St. John as "ganz sicher." With such fundamental ideas drawn directly from the Gospel, I do not think that we can rightly call Justin's use of it hesitating or uncertain.

But, secondly, in addition to these primary conceptions, Dr. Abbot has enumerated some fifteen or sixteen instances

[1] See the references in Abbot, *Critical Essays*, p. 144 (=*Authorship*, etc., p. 42). Compare also *σωματοποιήσασθαι*, *Dial.*, c. 70.

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of coincidence between Justin and the Fourth Gospel,[1] nearly all of which seem to me to have some real foundation, and several of them to be beyond question. Among these I include of course the passage relating to the "new birth."

Of one passage, or rather group of passages, in particular, Dr. Abbot speaks doubtfully. The group in question is one which seems to point to St. John i. 13, "Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." There is here a remarkable various reading—known to several of the Latin Fathers, Irenæus (twice), Tertullian (three times), and Ambrose and Augustine (once each), and found also in Cod. Veronensis (*b*) of the Old Latin—according to which "who *was* born" (ὃς ἐγεννήθη) is substituted for "who *were* born" (*οἱ ἐγεννήθησαν*), and the reference is made to be not to the "children of God," but to the incarnate Word. If Justin alludes to the passage, it is in this form. Dr. Resch, who takes up the question, assumes confidently that he does allude to it;[2] and I confess that I am inclined to agree with him. The allusions are of course very free, but it seems to me decidedly probable that this verse of St. John lies at the bottom of them. To appreciate the force of the probability we need to have the Greek of the passages before us. We need also to remember that there is a further reading, ἐξ *αἵματος* (for ἐξ *αἱμάτων*), found also in two MSS. (*b* and *q*) of the Old Latin, in Tertullian (twice), Hilary (once), Augustine (in two treatises), Eusebius, Epiphanius, and according to Baethgen, also in the Curetonian Syriac. This too seems to be implied by Justin.

St. John i. 13

(as apparently read by Justin).

[ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ] ὃς (T.R. οἱ) οὐκ ἐξ αἵματος (T.R. αἱμάτων) οὐδὲ ἐκ

[1] *Critical Essays*, pp. 31-43, 47-52. [2] *Agrapha*, p. 22 f.

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θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθη (T.R. ἐγεννήθησαν).

Apol. I. 32.	*Dial.* c. 54.	*Dial.* c. 63.	*Dial.* c. 76.
οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως.	αἷμα μὲν ἔχει ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου σπέρματος ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως.	ὡς τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος γεγεννημένου, ἀλλ' ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ.	τὸ γὰρ ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου εἰπεῖν, φαινόμενον μὲν καὶ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον μηνύει, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνου δὲ σπέρματος ὑπαρχοντα δηλοῖ . . . ὅτι αἷμα μὲν ἔχειν αὐτὸν προεμήνυεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.

Of course I can understand the use of the passage being questioned; but, bearing in mind the two postulates, (1) that Justin certainly was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, (2) that the readings involved were certainly present to both Irenæus and Tertullian (for the principal reading at least is confirmed by the context in all the instances), we shall, I think, look at the coincidences with different eyes; and to me at least the probability of direct connexion seems considerable.

This is not the only case in which Dr. Resch refers the peculiar form of Justin's quotations to a various reading in his MS. In the disputed, but, as I consider, quite certain, quotation of St. John iii. [3], 5, there are two variants which stand out above the rest: ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννήθητε (for ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν), and εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (for εἰς τ. β. τοῦ Θεοῦ). Of these the latter is found in the first hand of ℵ, in two forms of the Old Latin (*e* and *m*),

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in the *Clementine Homilies*, Tertullian, and a number of patristic authorities; the former is found in the *Clementine Homilies*, the *Clementine Epitome*, Irenæus as quoted in a *catena*, Eusebius, Athanasius, and a number of other Fathers.[1] The first reading, τῶν οὐρανῶν for τοῦ Θεοῦ, is, no doubt wrongly, admitted by Tischendorf into his text. The question is not whether either reading is right, but whether it is not merely a case of free quotation on the part of Justin but an actual variant in his MS. The wide diffusion of the two readings gives some countenance to the latter view. Both readings are paraphrases, and paraphrases that lie sufficiently near at hand; but when the same paraphrase is found in a number of different writers, its currency is more easily accounted for if it had found its way into MSS.

Yet one more variant of which Dr. Resch finds a trace in Justin is ἐκ γενετῆς πηρόν for τυφλὸν ἐκ γενετῆς, in St. John ix. 1. This reading occurs twice in Justin (*Apol.* i. 22, *Dial.* c. 69), and it is shared by him with the *Clementine Homilies* (xix. 21) and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (v. 7, 17). Again there is something of a case—not quite so strong as the last, but yet appreciable—for assuming a variant in the MS.

With this group of phenomena from Justin I will stop. It might probably be increased considerably if we had access to the original text of Tatian. But I have not found a Johannean variant which, remembering the number of *media* through which that text has passed, seems to me sufficiently established to be used in an argument. There is another interesting but isolated example from the *Commentary* of Heracleon (c. 170–180 A.D.[2]), in regard to which we

[1] Fully given by Abbot, *Crit. Ess.*, p. 38. We note besides that *renascor* appears largely in Latin texts (see Westcott and Hort *ad loc.*).

[2] According to Heinrici, 150–160 A.D. (*Valentinianische Gnosis*, p. 14). Lipsius (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 1079) seems inclined to place him later, but questions the statement of Origen that Heracleon was personally acquainted

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are expressly told by Origen that Heracleon's text gave the Samaritan woman *six* husbands instead of *five*.[1] It has not, I believe, been noticed that there are traces of this reading also in Tertullian; there is no mention of it in the critical editions, but it is clearly implied in *Pudic.* 11: *Ut cum Samaritanæ sexto jam matrimonio non mœchæ, sed prostitutæ, etiam quod nemini facile, quis esset ostendit.* Tertullian probably got this reading from Italy, where it must have had a certain range of circulation.

Justin therefore is not the only writer anterior to Irenæus who has a text already corrupt; and these corruptions have no little significance, even when deduction is made for the possibility that the coincidences may be accidental. Really this possibility, all things considered, is not large. When the readings in question are examined, we see that they have all very much the same character. We should set them down at once as what are technically called Western readings. But what does that mean? These Western readings did not arise in Ephesus; they did not arise in the province of Asia. A number of indications point to the region in which they did arise: it was Syria, if we may not be more precise, and say at Antioch or in the neighbourhood. Here for some time there must have been an active centre of copyists and students, who went on working upon the same lines. The different attestation of different Western readings shows that they were not introduced all at once, but came by successive accretions. The readings in Justin are very fairly consistent; but even they cannot well have come in with a single MS. For a text to have got such a stamp as it has in Justin time is required. We cannot say definitely what time. But

with Valentinus, without sufficient reason. See also Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 54 f., ed. 5.

[1] *Apud* Stieren, *Irenæus*, p. 195: Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνέγνωμεν· πέντε ἄνδρας ἔσχες· παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλέωνι εὕρομεν· ἓξ ἄνδρας ἔσχες.

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I, for one, should feel that the phenomena are more easily and naturally explicable if the Gospel was written about the time to which the tradition of the Church ascribes it than at any of the later dates which criticism has suggested.

Mounting upwards from Justin, we come to the early Gnostics and the apostolic Fathers. And here I cannot help wishing that this chapter could have been written a little later. On both subjects important works are on the way, to which I wish that I could refer in print. I allude to a paper on Basilides recently read at Oxford by Dr. James Drummond, and another on the "Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels," by Dr. C. Taylor, announced as in preparation among the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*.

In the common chronology Valentinus is usually set down as flourishing about the year 140 (the approximate date at which he came to settle in Rome), and Basilides as flourishing about the year 125. But Dr. Hort gives reasons for thinking that they were more nearly contemporary, and the system of Basilides is in part posterior to that of Valentinus. It would therefore be better to put the *floruit* of Basilides a little later.

Did either of them use the Fourth Gospel? If they did, the fact has an important bearing upon its history. Dr. Schürer is content to dismiss the question by saying: "Whether the fragments of the Gnostics which are given in the *Philosophumena* came from Basilides and Valentinus themselves is very uncertain. Probably the writings referred to are later productions of the school of Basilides and Valentinus."[1] Clearly the matter cannot rest there.

In regard to Valentinus, we are met at the outset by the statement of Tertullian that he apparently used all the Gospels accepted by the Church.[2] We may not, however, lay too much stress upon this, as Tertullian's knowledge

[1] *Contemporary Review*, p. 413.

[2] "Integro instrumento uti videtur."—*De Præscr.*, c. 38.

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of Valentinus himself seems to have been mainly, if not entirely, at second hand. Of more importance is the assertion of Irenæus that the Valentinians made great use of the Gospel.[1] This is abundantly borne out for the Valentinians, if not for Valentinus. After Valentinus himself, his disciples branched off into two main schools, a Western and an Eastern. The two leading masters of the Western or Italian school were Ptolemæus and Heracleon. But Irenæus gives us a full specimen of the way in which Ptolemæus treated the Scriptures (*Adv. Hær.* i. 8, 5); and that specimen is based on the prologue to St. John. Hippolytus also quotes some unnamed representative of this branch who appealed to St. John x. 8.[2] Heracleon, as we have seen, wrote a commentary on the Gospel. From the Eastern branch we have the *Excerpta Theodoti*, preserved with the works of Clement of Alexandria.[3] Not all of these *Excerpts* really belong to the Eastern school, but the part which does belong to it contains numerous quotations from the Gospel (§§ 6, 7, 17, 19, 26, 41).

This then is the way in which the evidence stands. Both branches of the school are studded with direct and express quotations from the Fourth Gospel. And this surely lends a strong presumption that the founder of the school used and recognised it, a presumption which is confirmed by the fact that Valentinus himself gave names to his æons (*Ἀλήθεια, Λόγος, Ζωή*), which the Fourth Gospel appears to have suggested.[4]

I would rather state the argument thus, than with Dr.

[1] "Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Joannem plenissime utentes."—*Adv. Hær.* iii. 11. 7.

[2] *Hær.* vi. 35.

[3] According to Zahn (*Forschungen* iii. 117 ff.), these were taken from the eighth book of the *Stromateis*; according to Lipsius (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 1082), they belonged rather to the work *περὶ ἀρχῶν* or to the first book of the *Hypotyposes*.

[4] Iren., *Adv. Hær.* iii. 11. 1 (supposed to be derived from the *Syntagma* of Justin). Compare the following from Jacobi, art. "Gnosis" in Herzog's *Real-*

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Salmon lay stress upon the common use of the Gospel by Valentinians and Catholics. When we find Catholics, Nestorians, and Jacobites alike using the Peshitto version, we may take that as valid proof that the Peshitto was common to the whole Syriac Church before its disruption. But the machinery for the expulsion of heretics did not work so surely in the second century as in the fourth. Valentinus was not ejected until he came to Rome, and his disciples may well have kept up a sort of loose connexion. I could conceive the work of an Apostle being taken up among them after Valentinianism came to be stamped as a heresy. I am not aware of any evidence that Basilides was expelled from the Church at all. He may have been, but we must not assume it.

The following of Basilides was not so powerful or so widespread as that of Valentinus; and here there are not so many possible claimants for Basilidian doctrine. It is however well known that there are two conflicting systems which go by the name of Basilides: one represented by Agrippa Castor, Irenæus, Pseudo-Tertullian, Philaster, and Epiphanius, on the one hand (the last three probably reducible to the lost *Syntagma* of Hippolytus, and that again with Irenæus probably based on the similar work now lost of Justin), and Clement of Alexandria with the *Refutation* of Hippolytus, on the other. It is natural to suppose that the first group must have the preference on account of its earlier date. But against this is to be set the fact that Clement certainly had before him the *Exegetica* of Basilides himself; and the tenour of his quotations agrees with the account in the later work of Hippolytus. The system there described is also without doubt, both morally and intellectually, by far the higher and worthier of an original mind

Encyklopädie v. 228 (ed. 2): "Die valentinischen Grundbegriffe entsprechen dem Evangelium Johannes so sehr, dass es one Zweifel schon bei Valentin die grosse Bedentung gehabt die es in dessen Schule behauptet."

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of the two. I incline therefore to think that we have in it the real work of Basilides, gathered from his writings, while Agrippa Castor or Justin (=Irenæus+the lost *Syntagma* of Hippolytus) drew their accounts rather from hearsay and intercourse with disciples.[1] I have done my best to form this opinion impartially, though the account which is thus vindicated for Basilides contains two unequivocal quotations from St. John.

Here then, I cannot but think, is serious matter for the consideration of the opponents of the Gospel. We are getting perilously near St. John's time, and the gap in the evidence is unexpectedly filling up: behind Irenæus comes, not only the group of more or less fragmentary writers, Theophilus, Melito,[2] Athenagoras, Claudius Apollinaris, not only Tatian with his *Diatessaron*, following upon his master Justin, but two well established schools, in different continents, of the disciples of Valentinus. And then behind Justin we need hardly appeal to the indirect evidence borne by Papias and Polycarp to the Gospel through the first Epistle, for by their side we have the two heresiarchs, rescued from oblivion, Valentinus and Basilides. Is not this a powerful phalanx to fill the vacant spaces of the second century?

And now, as if to crown all, there comes a rumour of a discovery made by Dr. C. Taylor that the famous passage about the fourfold Gospel in Irenæus is already prefigured in Hermas. From a less trusty hand we might well hesitate to receive such a windfall; but we shall certainly look with no common interest for the coming instalment of the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*. The exact date of Hermas is a difficult and debated question; between the two solu-

[1] This is substantially the view of Dr. Hort, Dr. Ezra Abbot, Dr. Drummond, and Jacobi; the other view is still held by Hilgenfeld, and was at one time (I do not know whether it is now) held by Lipsius.

[2] Ezra Abbot, *Crit. Ess.*, p. 59.

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tions (c. 100 A.D. and c. 140 A.D.) there is a difference of a full generation. The mere fact that the fourfold Gospel was recognised would, I think, weigh rather strongly in the scale in favour of the later date of the two. But even so, supposing that this recognition were made good, it would be equivalent to carrying back the *Diatessaron* itself a generation earlier than we have placed it. And thus the results to which our inquiries would seem to point in regard to Justin, Valentinus, and Basilides would receive a brilliant and unexpected confirmation. Of course, we must not count upon this until we have it in our hands; and yet I confess that those inquiries themselves make the rumoured discovery very far from incredible. It would be only as it were the keystone, binding together and making solid the scattered conclusions to which detailed criticism of other writers would seem to be leading.

In any case, we have a state of things which, if, as I have said, it does not "prove" the Gospel straight away to be the work of St. John, proves what is for practical purposes very much the same thing. Not until 180 A.D. do we have the actual name of the Apostle affixed to the Gospel; but long before that we have it circulating in the Christian world as an authoritative document—a document interpreted and used like a sacred book, a document appealed to for the establishment both of fact and of doctrine. If the inquiries which are now in progress should have the result which it seems very possible they may have, three consequences will follow: (1) The view which places the composition of the Gospel in the second century will be clearly untenable; (2) it will be established that the Gospel had its origin in some leading Christian circle at the time and place which tradition assigns to it; (3) it will be increasingly probable that its author was St. John.

W. SANDAY.

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DR. DALE'S THEOLOGY.[1]

THE services which Dr. Dale has rendered to theology and practical Christianity are so many and so great as to insure a warm welcome from those who know them to a new volume of discourses from his pen; and the readers will not be disappointed with those now presented to the public. They are distinguished by the author's qualities of profound and lofty thought, warm Christian feeling, and the power of bringing the doctrines of theology to bear on the practical duties of the Church and of society. They are on various subjects; and among the things that are specially well done I would mention the vindication, in the first of them, of missions to the heathen, even though we do not believe that all who do not hear of Christ are lost, the brief but luminous and suggestive treatment of socialism in that on the "Ministry required by the Age," and the whole of the very useful and beautiful sermon on the "Congregation helping the Minister." But it is not necessary to give an account of the contents of this volume, or to refer more particularly to the good things that are in it. Dr. Dale's writings need no eulogium or description, and these general remarks are meant simply to express high appreciation of them and of this volume as well worthy to stand along with the others.

There are however in it certain uncommon theological views or theories, to which Dr. Dale attaches much importance; and as he has expressed these with great emphasis and decision, respect for him as well as regard for truth makes it proper that they should be carefully examined. They occur in these discourses incidentally in disconnected

[1] *Fellowship with Christ, and other Discourses delivered on Special Occasions.* By R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1891.)

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passages; but they are parts of a consistent, well thought out scheme of opinion, and can only be fairly judged as such. It will be suitable then, after quoting some of his statements, so as to indicate what is to be examined, to endeavour to trace the connexion and relations of the several points, and to examine their truth in order.

At the beginning of the first sermon, on "Fellowship with Christ," he says: "The root of this fellowship with Christ in His supreme work and in His eternal glory is to be found in Christ's original and normal relations to the human race. . . . The brotherly relation between Christ and us did not begin when He was born at Bethlehem. . . . We are not the brethren of Christ because Christ has assumed our nature; Christ assumed our nature because we were His brethren. . . . The incarnation was not an after-thought, a Divine expedient to meet contingencies foreseen or unforeseen. It was involved in the creation of man. We were created in Christ" (pp. 4, 5). Again: "We came under law only because we fell away from the ideal of grace, or declined the path which would have led to the attainment of it. . . . We were not created under law" (p. 9). "God chose in Christ the whole race" (p. 10). Christ "atoned for the sins of all. . . . The whole world is not under law, but under grace" (pp. 16, 17). Again: "Christ as the Head of the human race—and, according to the thought and purpose of God, carrying the race with Him—passed into that eternal kingdom to which the race was destined from the beginning" (p. 40). "It is not true that men are in danger of eternal condemnation because they have committed sin; Christ, apart from their choice, is the propitiation for their sin; and they are elect in Christ to eternal righteousness and glory; it is for them, in the power of God's grace, to make their calling and election sure" (p. 64).

Many readers no doubt will be surprised and perplexed

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by these and similar statements; but it would be unfair to criticise them in such isolated quotations, or even in the connexions in which they occur in these discourses. We can get a truer idea of their real meaning by endeavouring to discover their organic connexion with Dr. Dale's theology as a whole.

In all his writings, and not least in this volume, Dr. Dale is a most earnest expositor and defender of the great Christian doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, His vicarious sacrifice as the propitiation for our sins, justification by His righteousness through faith alone, the need and reality of the agency of the Holy Spirit for the beginning and continuance of the new life of faith and holiness, and the final judgment of the world by Christ, with the solemn issues of eternal life and death. On all these essential points he is in full harmony with the faith of the Reformers, the Puritans, and the evangelical preachers of last century. Yet he holds that faith with a certain modification, which he describes in his discourse on *The Old Evangelicalism and the New* (1889, p. 43) as due chiefly to the greater place given "to the fact of the incarnation and to what the incarnation reveals concerning the true and ideal relations between God and man." But the particular way in which he gives more prominence to the incarnation can best be understood by starting from a slightly different point. The idea of that relation of Christ to the human race, which is so prominent in this volume of Dr. Dale's, was stated by him in the last of his Congregational Lectures on "the Atonement," in 1875, as a consideration throwing valuable light on the mystery of His bearing our sins. He is our representative, acting and suffering for us, in virtue of a real though mysterious union. This thought is a thoroughly scriptural one, and helps greatly to explain how our sins were laid on Him and His righteousness is imputed to us. But while making admirable use of it,

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Dr. Dale does not distinguish between that relation of Christ to the whole race which is implied in His taking the common nature of all and that relation to believers which is expressed by Paul when he says, "If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature." A clear distinction of these relations is rendered impossible by the fact that no special reference of the atonement to those to be actually saved is recognised; and it is viewed simply and always as for all men, the whole world. But with his profound and scriptural view of what the atonement is, Dr. Dale cannot take that in the old Arminian sense, that Christ's death has merely made forgiveness possible, in the way of faith being accepted instead of perfect obedience; no, it is a real propitiation, Christ has atoned for the sins of all men, all the world is under grace. Hence those strong statements made in this volume, that God is at peace with all men, not with the penitent only, but with the impenitent (p. 332), and that men are not in danger of death for sin against law (p. 64). Clearly too this cannot apply merely to the time since Christ has actually made the atonement; every thoughtful student of Scripture must believe that that great work had an effect on the sins of the past, even from the beginning. But if the whole race has been under grace, and not under law, ever since the first sin, it is impossible to believe that it was ever in a different state. A reign of law that should come to an end for those under it as soon as ever they transgressed the law is plainly inconceivable. Thus we are led to Dr. Dale's position, that we were not created under law, but only came under it because we fell away from the ideal of grace. Law can only come in as a dispensation entirely subordinate to grace, with those uses that Protestant theology assigns to the law for believers. But if man was in this sense under grace from the first, destined, entirely irrespective of sin, to find his perfection and acceptance with God only in fellowship

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with the incarnate Son, the incarnation must have been designed and purposed apart from man's sin, even as foreseen; so that the Word would have become flesh even had man not sinned, though it is in consequence of man's sin that He had to bear sorrow and suffering even to death, the death of the cross. Thus it appears that the various statements to which I have referred are not mere isolated opinions, but logically connected parts of a coherent scheme or line of thought, which forms part of the author's theology, and which he regards as an important and valuable development of the system of doctrine commonly called evangelical.

Let us now examine how far this line of thought is supported by Scripture and is an adequate representation of its teaching on the several points contained in it. The statement on which Dr. Dale insists, that Christ is the propitiation for the whole world, that He is the Lamb of God that beareth away the sin of the world, that He gave Himself a ransom for all, is quite scriptural and true; for I cannot believe that the interpretations of some Calvinists, that limit the words "world" and "all" in these passages, are fair or natural. But Christ and His apostles as distinctly assert that His sacrifice had a special reference to His own sheep, His Church, those who are certainly saved. Jesus said: "I lay down My life for the sheep" (John x. 15), those who know Him even as He knows the Father, and of whom He says afterwards, "they shall never perish" (ver. 28). Paul says: "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it; that He might sanctify it," etc. (Eph. v. 25–27); "Who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a people for His own possession," etc. (Tit. ii. 14); "If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life" (Rom. v. 10; comp. viii. 32).

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And in the new song in Revelation v. 9, 10 we read: "Thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with Thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests." These and other passages seem plainly to teach that the sacrifice of Christ, besides being, as sufficient and suitable for all men, the ground of the offer of forgiveness to all, has also a special relation to those who are actually saved, as securing their actual forgiveness. And while the union of Christ with the whole race, which has been effected by His taking on Him the common nature of all men, is the ground of that general aspect of the atonement, as sufficient, suitable, and freely offered to all men, the union that grounds the actual forgiveness and justification of sinners by His blood is not that universal relation, but a more close and spiritual one, in regard to which it is said He is the head of the body, the Church, we are members of His body. This is what has been commonly called by theologians the mystical union, the oneness of believers with Christ as their Lord and Head, which is illustrated by so many figures—that of the vine and its branches, the head and the members of the body, the foundation and the building, husband and wife, firstborn and his brethren—and is indicated by the profound and comprehensive expression, so often used about Christians by Paul and John and Christ Himself, "in Christ." This is surely the ground of that fellowship with Christ spoken of in 1 Corinthians i. 9, the text of Dr. Dale's first sermon in this volume. In this discourse there is a curious fluctuation or confusion between the relation of Christ to the human race and that relationship to Him which, as Dr. Dale puts it, is the condition and assurance of our personal salvation (p. 18). Surely these two things, both true and important, are very different. The former he describes as the root of the latter, as if our spiritual fellowship with Christ was just the realization and practical

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consequence of the relation of the whole race to Him. Now no doubt Christ's relation to mankind by the incarnation makes possible His mystical union with His Church; but Scripture represents these two relations as distinct, and each having its own practical consequences. Because Christ is man, He is the one Mediator between God and men, who gave Himself a ransom for all; because He shares our flesh and blood, He sympathises with all men; because He is Son of man, He has received authority to execute judgment. On the other hand, because we who believe are in Christ by a vital and spiritual union, we are blessed with all spiritual blessings, we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of our sins, we are dwelt in by the Holy Spirit, we are called and enabled to bring forth much fruit.

That this distinction is real and important appears further from the fact, that the neglect of it leads Dr. Dale to make statements about all men being under grace, God being at peace with all men, and men not being in danger of death for sin, which have no warrant in Scripture, and seem even to be contradicted by it. To be not under law but under grace is, according to Paul, the privilege of Christians, which gives them the assurance of victory over sin, and which they have as having died to the law in and with Christ (Rom. vi. 14, vii. 4–6). Paul also declares that the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men (Rom. i. 18), and that on account of moral offences the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience (Eph. v. 6). How it can be said, consistently with these statements, that God is at peace with the impenitent, I cannot see, nor any Scripture warrant for the latter assertion. That God loves all men, even when dead in sins, and offers peace to all, are precious truths; but they are not inconsistent with men being under His wrath until they turn from sin: and if anything more

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is meant by saying that God is at peace with all men, I think it is not true.

Let us come now to Dr. Dale's position that all men were created in the Son of God. This is based on Paul's statement in Colossians i. 16, and on an inference from the argument in Hebrews ii. 10–18. The former passage certainly in terms warrants the assertion that all men were created in God's Son, but only in common with all things, and as part of them. Paul is illustrating the relation of Christ to the whole universe, and to interpret this statement as something peculiar to man would cut the very sinews of his argument. Mankind as part of the whole universe was created in Christ; but does it follow from this that all men, in virtue of their creation, stand in organic relation to Christ? The inference drawn from Hebrews ii. is that in ver. 10 men who needed salvation are described as sons, and that in ver. 11 the reason is given: "for both He that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one (Father): for which cause He is not ashamed to call them brethren." Thereafter the fact that the children are partakers of flesh and blood is given as the reason of Christ taking part in the same; from whence Dr. Dale gathers that before the incarnation He was our Brother. But does the inspired writer mean by "many sons" all mankind? On the contrary, I think he has very carefully marked them out as having a distinctive character. For in ver. 11 they are "those who are being sanctified"; in ver. 12 "My brethren" has for its parallel "the Church"; in ver. 13 "the children whom God hath given Me" are the believing disciples of the prophet; and in ver. 16, "of the seed of Abraham He taketh hold," *i.e.* the spiritual children of the father of all them that believe. The passage teaches a relation of men to the Son of God anterior to the incarnation. Yes, but it is that of those who have been chosen in Christ before the foun-

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dation of the world, and predestined to the adoption of sons through Him (Eph. i. 4, 5), those that shall inherit salvation (Heb. i. 14).

But this reminds us that Dr. Dale is led by his views on other points to understand the passage in Ephesians of all men, and to say that all are elected in Christ, inasmuch as it was the Divine idea and purpose that mankind should have all spiritual blessings in Christ (p. 10), but that "God too has His unrealized ideals; He too is in pursuit of an unachieved perfection; He is thwarted, hindered, baffled by we know not what hostile powers" (p. 186). This is to me simply amazing, and I know not what to say but that it seems a *reductio ad absurdum*, both in its extraordinary exegesis of Ephesians i. and in the monstrous conclusion in the statement just quoted. No doubt God's will is disobeyed, and He is truly displeased and grieved by the sins of men; and I would not find fault with vehement and startling expressions of this mysterious truth. But to say that a Divine purpose is baffled and hindered by some unknown powers, until at last "the eternal purposes of His righteousness and His love will be fulfilled," is something quite different, and cannot refer merely to the love of God which is grieved by the sin and ruin of the guilty; unless we are to believe the final restitution and salvation of all men, which Dr. Dale does not accept. The Bible seems to make a plain distinction between the desire of God that all men should be saved, in spite of which many perish by their own fault, and the purpose of God, which is never spoken of as baffled or thwarted. Also the certainty of God's purpose is ever presented as the strongest ground of our faith and comfort, and has been found to be so in the experience of believers in all ages.

Dr. Dale's view that we were not created under law, but only came under it because we fell away from the ideal of grace or declined the path which would have led to the

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attainment of it, is grounded on the assertion that it was not "God's purpose that the measures of our eternal blessedness, the nearness of our access to Himself, our rank, if I may call it so, in His eternal kingdom, should be nothing more than the natural fruit and the equitable recompense of our personal obedience" (p. 9). I cordially agree with this statement, and so I think would all the theologians who assert a covenant of works. The very reason for calling that dispensation a covenant is, that man, even by the most perfect obedience, could have no natural or equitable claim to the reward of fellowship with and enjoyment of God as his portion, except for the gracious promise of God. There was grace even in the covenant of works; in fact, we may say the covenant was all grace. It added to the law, which is eternal and necessary, as prescribing man's duty, the element of grace in the free, bounteous promise of reward, so far transcending the deserts even of an obedient creature. Then we cordially agree also that "we were never meant to be mere servants in the household of God, with no wealth but the wages we might earn." But it is a strange idea that we became servants because we fell away from the ideal of grace. To be servants of God is not a punishment, and is never so represented in Scripture; on the contrary, it is a high and blessed honour, only second to the higher honour of being sons of God, for which it was designed to prepare the way. Obedience to law as God's servants was what Dr. Dale calls the path which would have led to the attainment of the ideal of grace; and he could gain all that he desires in regard to the Divine idea of human perfection without inverting the relations between grace and law which theologians have been in the habit of assuming. He has not developed his idea of how law comes in, and it is hard to understand what place law can have in the relations between God and man, unless it is the primary and essential rule of them,

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the authoritative expression of that holiness which God must always require of His rational creatures, though in His grace He not only promises a great reward to them that keep it, but to sinners gives what He requires.

I believe as strongly as Dr. Dale that men were created to be not merely servants, but sons of God, and that this sonship was to be a fellowship with the eternal Son of God in His relation to the Father. In this way there is a relation of Christ to man that is antecedent to and independent of the facts of sin and redemption. But whether or not the incarnation would have been necessary in order to this fellowship with the Son of God, had man not sinned, I do not think we are competent to decide. Since that fellowship certainly is realized in a most perfect and glorious way through the incarnation, there may be a presumption that the wonderful union of Deity and humanity in Immanuel was purposed by God apart from a consideration of sin, in order that mankind, had they remained obedient, might have this perfect fellowship with God. But who shall say that this is certain, or that the end could not have been attained otherwise? The Scripture so habitually represents the Son of God as having actually become man for the redemption and salvation of sinners, that I hesitate to accept the theory that He would have done so even had man not sinned; and indeed, when the question is what would or would not have happened if something had not taken place which in fact did take place, it seems impossible to answer it with any confidence either one way or another, especially as it refers to a most wonderful act of God's grace and love. That otherwise the incarnation would be a mere afterthought or expedient to meet an emergency is the reason that seems chiefly to lead Dr. Dale to the view he has adopted. But this does not press so much on those who have a doctrine of God's eternal purpose, according to which He has, with infinite wisdom and love, fore-ordained

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all things that come to pass. If this be true, the incarnation and work of Christ were no afterthought, but may have been, according to our imperfect way of conceiving Divine thoughts, even prior in His mind to the foresight of sin. God purposed to bring many sons to glory in Christ, and He created men, and permitted them to fall into sin, because He was able and resolved to overrule their sin to His gracious and glorious end of the saved being brought to a closer union with Himself than could otherwise be, and being the means of preventing sin and promoting holiness in millions of other creatures. I do not say that this view of the order of the Divine purposes can be proved from Scripture, or is free from difficulties; but when pressed by the objection of making the incarnation an afterthought, I am rather inclined to it than to the view that the Word would have become flesh had man not sinned.

It will be observed that, in examining Dr. Dale's peculiar opinions, I have been doing little else than unfolding in succession some of the points of Calvinism. Not that I have taken that theology as a standard, but in comparing the relevant passages of Scripture at each point, these doctrines have spontaneously come out. The fact is, I believe that the rejection of these doctrines has disjointed and disordered the course of Dr. Dale's theological construction from the point where these ought to come in. I regret much that he regards Calvinism as entirely obsolete, a deserted and ruined fortress, which it requires no courage to defy and trample on. I admit that the form in which Calvinism was often put in former times was narrow and harsh, and failed to do justice to some of the most precious aspects of the gospel; and I know from Dr. Dale's *Lectures on Ephesians*, that he has been repelled by the unfortunate language of the Westminster Confession of Faith. That form of doctrine needs to be supplemented, as it is by most of its modern adherents, with the recognition of the

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love and grace of God to all men, and the scriptural doctrine that in one aspect the atonement of Christ is for all men. We need also, as Dr. Dale wishes, to give greater prominence to the incarnation; but, after all, I believe that the system called Calvinistic contains important scriptural truths, the rejection of which gives an unfortunate twist to theological speculation in certain departments.

There is a practical point, too, at which this speculation produces confusion, the conception of saving faith to which it leads. This comes out in Dr. Dale's discourse on the theology of John Wesley. He describes very beautifully Wesley's experience, and how he was led to define faith as "a sure trust which a man hath in God that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven," and then how he afterwards came to see that this could not always be insisted on, and recognised a lower kind of faith of adherence, "such a Divine conviction of God as even in its infant state enables every one that possesses it to fear God and work righteousness." But both of these are intellectual acts or states, and how to get at the higher is the question. Dr. Dale accepts the paradox of being saved by believing that we are saved as perhaps truer than it seems, on the ground that God has already given to us, to all men, believers and unbelievers alike, eternal redemption in Christ. But this will not meet the need of a really awakened soul. Whatever you may tell him about God being at peace with him, his conscience tells him that he is guilty, he needs something that will change his relation to God, not to be assured that it is right already. How much better practically the theology that tells him that saving faith is not believing what is true already or will somehow be made true by his believing, but accepting Christ as his Saviour, whereby a new and blessed union is effected, so that he is forgiven and accepted in the Beloved as he was not before.

Dr. Dale's views present an almost exact analogy to those

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of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen and MacLeod Campbell, sixty years ago, and are, I believe, to be traced to the same causes. We trust however that they will be treated in a different way from that in which those were by men who were conscientiously opposed to them, and that, instead of being denounced as heretical, they will be calmly and patiently examined. For their author is not an enemy to the gospel of God's grace, but a sincere and intelligent friend and defender of its essential principles; and though I think the Calvinistic doctrines are true and important, I am persuaded also that they should not be made terms of communion or of brotherly recognition. There are difficulties and mysteries on all sides, and probably Christians will continue to be divided on these questions as long as we are in this world. Meanwhile, frank and friendly discussion may do good, and can do no harm; and I trust that the freedom with which I have criticised some parts of Dr. Dale's theology will be recognised as quite consistent with sincere respect and gratitude for his services to the common cause, and hearty admiration and recommendation of by far the greater part of the present volume.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

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THE ARAMAIC GOSPEL.

Duplicate Translations in the Gospel of Mark.

In the present paper we wish to call into requisition a deeply interesting phenomenon, which occurs in the second Gospel; *viz.* the existence of what we hope to show are duplicate translations of the Aramaic text. As we have casually hinted in our previous papers, some of the ancient scribes, when they were acquainted with two various readings of the passage they were copying, seem to have shrunk from the responsibility of deciding which was correct, and to have interwoven *both* into their MS. This peculiarity is by no means universally to be found in MSS. It seems to be limited both as to place and time, and thus due to a common influence. It occurs (1) in the Samaritan Targum; (2) in certain MSS. of the Septuagint, notably those which represent the recension of Lucian, who was priest at Antioch in Syria, and died A.D. 312; (3) in the copy of the Gospels known as the Curetonian Syriac; (4) in those New Testament codices which give what is known as the Syrian text; and also, as we hope to show, (5) in the Gospel of Mark, in the oldest text which extant MSS. supply to us. It would thus appear that the practice to which we refer was Aramæan as to its *locale*, and was in vogue in the earlier centuries of our era.

A few illustrations from each of these sources will elucidate and help to establish our position.

First we will give a few specimens from the Samaritan Targum. In each case the scribe seems to have known of two current translations of the one Hebrew word, and in his uncertainty as to which he should adopt, to have inserted both.

Gen. i. 27: And God *created*, *designed* (וברא וכון), man in His image, in the image of God designed He him, male and female designed He them.

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Gen. ii. 3: God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because in it He *rested, ceased* (בטל פסק), as to all the work which God created to make.

Gen. iii. 22: And now if he shall . . . take from the tree of life, and eat and *live, continue* (וחי וחף), for ever.

Gen. xiv. 9: And Tidal *king, ruler* (מלך שלטן), of peoples.

Gen. xxii. 16: And the word of Jehovah said, By Myself have I sworn, in *return, recompense* (חלף מרוך ד), for thy having done this, . . . I will bless thee. . . .

Our illustrations from the Septuagint we will gratefully borrow from Canon Driver's scholarly work, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel.* On page lvi, under the head of "Features of the Septuagint which are not Original Elements in the Version, or Due to the Translators," we have examples given of double renderings or "doublets." Our selection from Canon Driver's list shall be guided by the desire to adduce at least one example of each of the classes of clerical errors to which Semitic texts are liable.

1. Diverse vocalization of the same consonants.

In 1 Samuel vi. 7, in the description of the kine that were to convey the ark back to the land of Israel, there was evidently uncertainty among Greek translators whether the Hebrew word עול should be pointed עוֹל=a yoke, or עוּל=a suckling. The former would mean, "kine on whom there had come no *yoke*," the latter, "kine with whom was no *suckling*." The recension of Lucian testifies to the existence of both these renderings, for it places them side by side thus: *ἄνευ τῶν τετεγμένων ἐφ' ἃς οὐκ ἐπέτεθη ζύγος.*

Change of consonants.

In 1 Samuel vi. 12 it is equally evident that the word in our present Hebrew text וְנָעוֹ, "and lowing," was in some MSS. יָגְעוּ, "they were weary," for under a desire to preserve both readings Lucian's recension reads: "In a straight road they went, they were weary (*ἐκοπίων*), in one road they went lowing" (*βοῶσαι*).

In 1 Samuel xiv. 40, where our Hebrew Bible reads, "Then said he [Saul] unto all Israel, Ye shall be *on the one side* (לעבר אחד), and I and Jonathan will be on the other side" (לעבר אחד), the recension of Lucian has, "You shall be *for slavery* (*εἰς δουλείαν*)

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and I and Jonathan will be for slavery," and then *follows* the correct translation as we have given it. The strange mistake arose from mistaking לעבר for לַעֲבֹד, inf. of עָבַד, to serve.

3. Omission of a consonant.

In 1 Samuel xviii. 28, where we read, "And Michal the daughter of Saul loved him," Lucian's MSS. read, *καὶ Μελχὸλ ἡ θυγατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ἠγάπα αὐτόν*. This is clearly a combination of two various readings which were current in Hebrew MSS.:

ומיכל בת שאול אהבתהו
וכל בית ישראל אהבהו

4. Transposition of adjacent consonants.

2 Samuel vi. 2. The approved text of the LXX. reads *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ Ἰούδα ἐν ἀναβάσει*="From the rulers of Judah, in the ascent." The former half only occurs in the Hebrew מִבַּעֲלֵי יְהוּדָה. Whence then comes *ἐν ἀναβάσει*? Clearly from a second reading obtained by the transposition of the first two letters, במעלה י=in the ascent of Judah.

In the very important Syriac translation of considerable fragments of the Gospels, discovered by Dr. Cureton in a Nitrian monastery, and which has recently been with consummate skill retranslated into Greek by a German scholar, F. Baethgen, there are several instances of double translation. These are collected by the editor in his masterly introduction, and from this list we take the following:

Matt. viii. 9: The Greek words *ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας*="having under myself soldiers," are in the Curetonian Syriac translated literally; and *also* side by side with this are the words ואית לי שולטנא אף לי, "and I have authority, even I."

Luke xxii. 25: *εὐεργέται* is, as in the Peshito, rendered עבדי טבתא="doers of good"; and *also* דשפיר עבדין="those who act well."

Luke xxiii. 15: The Curetonian Syriac reads, "Nothing worthy of death has been done by Him, has he found against Him." This is a composite rendering of *ἐστὶ πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ*.

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There are also cases (like those in the Samaritan Targum) where *one* Greek word is translated by *two* Syriac synonyms, which are placed side by side.

Matt. v. 13: *μωρανθῇ*="have lost its savour," is rendered by the *two* words תפכה ותשטא="become foolish, become insipid."

Luke viii. 6: *ἐξηράνθη*="was withered," is represented by the synonyms ויבש יבין.

Luke xx. 16: *μὴ γένοιτο* becomes חס ולא נהוא="Gracious and let it not be." חס alone=*μὴ γένοιτο*. The rest is a literal translation appended.

Textual criticism of New Testament Greek MSS. reveals that the same process was at work there also, within the same geographical area. Thus far, we have found that it is Aramæan scribes with whom this mode of editing MSS. was fashionable; and it is very interesting to note that it is those Greek Testament MSS. which textual critics assign to the *Syrian text*, in which the scribes systematically combine the readings of earlier texts, and thus produce what are known as "conflate readings." The word "doublet" in the terminology of New Testament criticism is generally used to designate those passages in which the same incident or discourse is given *twice* in *the same* Gospel. It is perhaps not necessary to say that we have not thus far used the word in this sense, but as equivalent to double or conflate readings. Drs. Westcott and Hort, in their Introduction to *The New Testament in Greek*, have given several instances of this process. Two of these we will cite, in order to compare them with the instances we wish to introduce.

Mark ix. 49:

(α) *πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται.* (א) B L Δ, etc.

(β) *πᾶσα γὰρ θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται.* D, etc.

(δ) *πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται.* A C N E F G H K M S U V Γ Π, etc.

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Our learned editors contend, and very reasonably, that (α), "for every one shall be salted with fire," is the oldest reading; that a reminiscence of Leviticus ii. 13, "And every gift of your sacrifice shall be salted with salt," caused (β) to appear in some codices instead of (α), the change being helped by the words that follow in Mark, *καλὸν τὸ ἅλας, κ.τ.λ.* Then at the time of the first Syrian recension, the two incongruous alternatives were simply added together; and this is the reading of the Peshito Syriac, the Latin Vulgate, and the great mass of uncials quoted above, almost all of which give a Syrian text.

Mark vi. 33: "And they ran together there on foot from all the cities." After this ℵ B read *προῆλθον αὐτούς*, "and outwent them"; D, *καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτοῦ*, "and assembled there"; whereas eleven uncials, which usually give a Syrian text, *combine* the two readings, *καὶ προῆλθον αὐτοὺς καὶ συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν.*

As the result of the foregoing investigations, we are led to see that the readings which are duplicated by the scribe are of two kinds: (1) Those which he knows to be variant renderings of the original work of which his text is a translation. (2) Those in which the various readings that the scribe combines are due to clerical errors in repeatedly transcribing the translated work. Most of the conflate readings of the Syrian text of Greek Testament MSS. are of this latter class. Most of the other instances we have adduced belong to the former; and it is to the former class also, to which the double readings in Mark's Gospel belong, to which we now wish to direct attention, and which we wish to prove to be due to a double translation of the same or a slightly variant Aramaic text.

Now as to our method. We will use as an illustration one of Canon Driver's list of doublets in the Septuagint. In 1 Samuel vi. 12, in reference to the kine that were dragging the cart and the ark to Bethshemesh, our Hebrew Bible has the word וְנָעוֹ, "*and lowing* as they went." But side by side with this the LXX. has *ἐκοπίων* = they were weary. The student then sets himself (as in thousands of other cases) to inquire what Hebrew word resembling ונע the Greek translator had before him, or thought he had,

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when he wrote *ἐκοπίων*, and at once he fixes on יגעו, 3 pl. Pret. of יָגַע.

But our problem is more intricate than this. Suppose that all Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament had perished in the dissolution of the Jewish state, and the Greek MSS. were all that had survived. Suppose, further, that the recollection of an original Hebrew had almost passed away, being only casually alluded to in some ancient authors, and that the general impression prevailed that the LXX. was the original work, how should we then proceed? Suppose one MS. of Samuel read *καὶ βοῶσαι*, and the word in exact parallelism with this in another MS. was *ἐκοπίων*, while a third MS. gave both *καὶ βοῶσαι* and *ἐκοπίων*, would not the fact that the first of these when translated into Hebrew yielded ורעו, and the second יגעו, furnish a filament of probability? and if the cases could be multiplied manifold, should we not then have a *cord* of probability strong enough to "*draw* the inference" that the Greek MSS. were translations from various readings of a common Hebrew text?

We will first adduce instances of a simple character in which words or phrases of synonymous import are duplicated in Mark's Gospel, just to show that we have here, to all appearance, the same phenomena as we have noted in the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Curetonian Syriac, and the Septuagint, where we *know* that the doublets are in the translation, and not in the original, but are due to a peculiar habit of Aramæan scribes.

1. Matt. viii. 16: *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης.*
   Luke iv. 40: *δύνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου.*
   Mark i. 32: *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος.*

The passages before us all refer to the incidents of the evening of the day on which Jesus healed Peter's mother-

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in-law. The description is in each case substantially the same, and presents phenomena which imply unity of source. The first Gospel opens with the words, "And it was evening"; the third, "And when the sun was setting"; the second combines the other two, "And when it was evening, when the sun was setting." May we not reasonably assume, being aware of the ancient tradition that the first record of our Lord's ministry was written in Aramaic, that we have various translations of the same Aramaic phrase, וכד הוה עברית = "and when it was evening, or sunset"? for עברית means, as Buxtorf says, "tempus vespertinum, ab solis occasu."

2. Another instance is to be found in the narrative of the transfiguration.

Matthew xvii. 1: And He leadeth them up into a high mountain *apart* (*κατ' ἰδίαν*).

Mark ix. 2 agrees with Matthew verbatim, but *adds* *μόνους* = *alone.*

We would suggest that the common Aramaic was לחוד, or perhaps better, בִּלְחוֹדֵהוֹן. In most passages, when בלחוד occurs in the Targum, *μόνος* is found in the LXX., though *κατ' ἰδίαν* = individually, privately, precisely, hits off the literal meaning of בִּלְחוֹד. The reading in Mark, *κατ' ἰδίαν μόνους*, is, we believe, a double translation of the one Aramaic word.

3. In the narrative of the young ruler who came to Christ to ask what he must do to inherit eternal life, all three evangelists record that our Lord recited several precepts of the decalogue; but in Mark x. 19 we have both *μὴ κλέψῃς* = thou shalt not steal, and *μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς* = "thou shalt not rob." It is evident, since our Lord would not wish to add to the decalogue, that *μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς* is a variant translation of the original commandment, and as such was inserted by some very early scribe alongside the more common Greek rendering.

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If any of my readers demur that these three cases, though interesting, fall short of *proof* of the existence of an Aramaic original, I am precisely of the same opinion. As the occurrence of synonyms in the several Gospels is doubtful evidence of translation from a common source, so is the repetition of synonymous words in the same Gospel. It is when the repeated words are *not* equivalent in meaning, like *καὶ βοῶσαι* and *ἐκοπίων*, that we are able to bring our method into play. If, when the duplicated words are translated into Aramaic, we obtain Aramaic words which are very nearly alike, but not identical, we are able then to infer that the divergent Greek words are due to a various reading in different MSS. of the Aramaic Gospel.

We will first, for the sake of completeness, mention one or two cases which have been casually alluded to in our previous papers.

4. Respecting the leper who came to our Lord when He had descended from the Mount of Beatitudes, it is said—

Matt. viii. 3: And his leprosy was cleansed (*ἐκαθαρίσθη*).
Luke v. 13: And his leprosy departed (*ἀπῆλθεν*).
Mark i. 42: And his leprosy departed and was cleansed.

Now if the words "was cleansed" and "departed" are very nearly alike in Aramaic, we shall have valuable evidence. We would suggest that the original reading was סְנִירוּתֵהּ אִתְנַקַּת = "his leprosy was cleansed." The verb was by some scribe altered to אִתְנַדַּת = fled, removed, departed. This appears in Luke. Then some worthy progenitor of Lucian, when transcribing the second Gospel, wishful that both renderings should be preserved, combined them, *ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη*.

5. In the triple narrative of the storm at sea, the severity of the storm is described as follows:

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Matt. viii. 24: σεισμὸς μέγας, a great storm.
Luke viii. 23: λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου, a storm of wind.
Mark iv. 37: λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου μεγάλη, a great storm of wind.

The words σεισμός and λαῖλαψ are synonymous, and may well both come from זעפא, the word which is used of the wind which blew down the house in which Job's sons and daughters were met together. In this passage (Job i. 19) we have the words זַעְפָּא רַבְתָּא, and we suggest that this was the original reading of the evangelic narrative. This became זעפא רבחא; and this, in accordance with the practice which occurs often on every page of the Samaritan Targum of writing ב for ו, was interpreted to mean זעף רוחא = "a storm of wind." Then, in order to avoid losing the correct reading, both are combined by some early scribe of Mark's Gospel.

6. We will now consider the next verse, where we have the words in which the horror-stricken disciples addressed their Lord, who was asleep on the pillow. Their words are variously given, as we shall see.

Matt. viii. 25.	Mark iv. 38.	Luke viii. 24.
Κύριε,	Διδάσκαλε,	Ἐπιστάτα,
σῶσον ἡμᾶς,		ἐπιστάτα,
ἀπολλύμεθα.	{ οὐ μέλει σοι / ἀπολλύμεθα. }	ἀπολλύμεθα.

On the first line we have three titles applied to the Saviour. What a stumbling-block such cases are in the way of those who maintain that the common "source" was in Greek! On the theory of an Aramaic "source," however, this is precisely what we should expect would occur. What Aramaic word do these three titles represent? διδάσκαλε might suggest רַבָּא; κύριε and ἐπιστάτα suggest מָרָא. Have we any means of deciding? Let us see. Luke repeats ἐπιστάτα, and the parallel word in Matthew is σῶσον ἡμᾶς. Are these alike in Aramaic, so as to be

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easily confused? They are very nearly alike, if we assume מָרָא, O Lord! or מָרָנָא, our Lord! to have been the original title of address; for "save us" is מָרְנָא, the imperative of נטר, to protect, preserve, save.

We note that all three synoptists have *ἀπολλύμεθα*, "we are perishing," whereas Mark has also *οὐ μέλει σοι;* "dost Thou not care?" We will now examine if *οὐ μέλει σοι;* is not a second rendering of the original text. In Syriac and Targumic Aramaic there is a word בְּטַל, which in the Peal of both languages means to cease from toil, desist, be disengaged. But, as is often the case, from this same root idea the meanings of the other conjugations diverge so as to be scarcely recognisable. In Syriac the Ethpeal means "to be careful," "take care." For instance:

Luke x. 34: The Samaritan "placed him on his ass, and took him to the inn, and *took care* of him."
Gal. ii. 10: Only that we should remember the poor; and I *was careful* to do this very thing.
2 Tim. ii. 15: Be careful that thou mayest present thyself perfectly before God, a workman without cause for shame.

This evidently suits *οὐ μέλει σοι;* But is it not remarkable that in the Targums the Ithpael of the verb בְּטַל means "to be destroyed," to perish," "zerstört, vernichtet werden"?

Psalm v. 11: Let them be *destroyed* by their own plans.
Job xxii. 16: Wicked men . . . who *were destroyed* from the earth when it was not their time, whose body decomposed in the depth of the sea.
Eccles. xii. 3: In the day when the molar-teeth of thy mouth *perish* until they cannot masticate food.

Can any one deny, in view of all the other evidence, that the diverse meanings of אתבטל in cognate dialects supply the explanation of the dual rendering in the second Gospel?

7. Our next illustration shall be drawn from a sum-

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marized statement found in Mark and Luke as to the general effect produced by the early Galilæan ministry.

Mark i. 28.	Luke iv. 37.
καὶ ἐξῆλθεν	καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο
ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ	ἦχος περὶ αὐτοῦ
εἰς ὅλην τὴν περίχωρον	εἰς πάντα τόπον τῆς περιχώρου.
τῆς Γαλιλαίας.	

There could be no clearer case of translation from a common source, especially if we can show that the addition of *τῆς Γαλιλαίας* in Mark is due to a composite reading. Of course the word for Galilee is גְּלִילָא. Is the Aramaic equivalent for *ἡ περίχωρος* = the region round about, very like this? Just alike, with the exception of one vowel. It is גְּלִילָא = "circuitus," "Umkreis"; as in Ezekiel xlvii. 8. Clearly then there were two current renderings of the word גלילא, and the scribe, familiar with this fact, preserves both in his copy of Mark.

8. Once more we would direct attention to the narrative of the Gadarene demoniac. When our Lord landed on the eastern side of the lake, we read of the poor man as follows:

Mark v. 7.	Luke viii. 28.
ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν	ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν
ἀπὸ μακρόθεν }	ἀνακράξας
κράξας }	
προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ,	προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ,
καὶ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ εἶπε.	καὶ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ εἶπε.

Here are evident indications of unity of source. The two synonyms for obeisance are in keeping with the theory of translation, but are not able to prove it. But when we find that the Aramaic equivalent to the participle *ἀνακράξας* = "having shouted aloud," is מַכְלָא, while *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν* is מֵהַלָּא, we have, in the close resemblance in an unpointed text between מכלא and מהלא, strong evidence

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of translation from an Aramaic source. An early copyist of Mark's Gospel was, we assume, acquainted with these two Aramaic readings, and in his uncertainty as to which was correct took the cautious, if somewhat uncritical, plan of inserting both in his text, *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν κράξας*.

9. And now we will turn to the parable of the sower, where we have two deeply interesting instances of doublets in Mark's Gospel. All three Gospels agree in the reading, "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God" (Matt., heaven); after which comes—

Matt. xiii. 11: *ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐ δέδοται.*
Luke viii. 10: *τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς.*
Mark iv. 11: *ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς.*

The contrast here is between those who know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, the initated, and those to whom it is not given to know them, the uninitiated. This latter class are called *οἱ λοιποί* and *οἱ ἔξω*. In a similar sense *οἱ λοιποί* occurs in Luke xviii. 9 of the Pharisees who "despised *τοὺς λοιπούς*," not "others," but the uneducated, the uninitiated, those outside their own guild or fraternity. So the Pharisee thanks God that he is not as *οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (ver. 11). Similarly *οἱ ἔξω*, "those who are without," is used of those who are not Christians, who are outside the pale of the Christian fraternity (1 Cor. v. 12, Col. iv. 5, 1 Thess. v. 6). Now the Aramaic word which best represents both these is חִלּוֹנִי, which means an outsider, one who is not included in a favoured community or guild. One outside the favoured nation is נבר חלוני (Deut. xvii. 15, J.); and one who does not belong to the guild of priests is called by the same name Isaiah xxiv. 2: "As with the people (חלונאה), so with the priest." If one who is not-an-Israelite and one who is not-a-priest is called חלוני, this would assuredly be the word to designate one who is not-a-Christian, not belonging

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to the true Israel, the true priesthood, outside the favoured fraternity to whom it is given to understand the mysteries of the kingdom. These are the *οἱ λοιποί* or *οἱ ἔξω*.

Whence then comes *ἐκείνοις*? In Aramaic "those" is הלין. How nearly like this is to חלון or חלוני is apparent. Is it not clear then, that there were two various readings current in the MSS. of the Aramaic Gospel, להלין = *ἐκείνοις*, and לחלני = *τοῖς λοιποῖς* and *τοῖς ἔξω*? Both are in the second Gospel found side by side.

10. A further case occurs in the interpretation of the parable, as to that part of the seed which falls on the footpath.

Matt. xiii. 19.	Mark iv. 15.	Luke viii. 12.
ἔρχεται ὁ πονηρός, καὶ ἁρπάζει	*ἔρχεται ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ αἴρει*	*ἔρχεται ὁ διάβολος καὶ αἴρει*
τὸ ἐσπαρμένον	*τὸν λόγον* / *τὸν ἐσπαρμένον*	*τὸν λόγον*
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.	*ἐν τ. καρδίαις αὐτῶν.*	*ἀπὸ τ. καρδίας αὐτῶν.*

The point to which we would direct special attention is the doublet in Mark. Luke says, "The devil cometh and taketh away *the word*"; Matthew, "*that which was sown*"; Mark, "*the word which was sown.*" Are these due to a slightly variant reading in the MSS. of the Aramaic Gospel? Let us examine. The equivalent of *ὁ λόγος* is דְּבוּרָא—a word, we may note, which is much more common in the Palestinian Targums than in the Babylonian. But the verb to *strew, scatter* is דְּרָא; as we read of Moses that he strewed (דְּרָא) the powdered gold upon the stream of water, and made the people drink it (Exod. xxxii. 20, J.). In one respect דְּרָא is more striking than *σπείρω*. The seed which falls on the pathway through the cornfield is not deliberately and intentionally placed there, it is not strictly *sown*; it is rather blown there by the wind: and this is precisely the idea involved in דרא, which means to strew

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or scatter by the wind, and hence also to winnow. If we translate τὸ ἐσπαρμένον into Aramaic, we obtain הַדְרִיָא, fem. Pahil participle, with ה prefixed. We thus obtain two similar readings, דבורא or דברא = "the word," and הדריא = "that which is sown": and just as in the LXX., the Samaritan Targum, and the Curetonian Syriac, both various readings are so often preserved side by side in the translation, so here we have τὸν λόγον and τὸν ἐσπαρμένον preserved side by side by a scribe who had been trained in the same Aramæan school.

J. T. MARSHALL.

THE DIVINE LOOKING-GLASS.

"But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving yourselves. Because if any man be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like a man looking at his natural face in a glass: for he looked at himself, and has gone away, and straightway he forgot what manner of man he was. But he that gazed into the perfect law of liberty, and continued (gazing), not being a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his doing."—JAMES i. 22–25.

IF St. James is the most practical, he certainly is not the most prosaic, of the inspired writers. He is a born poet, though he writes no poetry. He can hardly pen a sentence without lighting up his thought with some homely yet charming figure. A kinsman of the Lord Jesus, he has more of the manner of the Lord than any other of the apostles; like Him, he speaks in parables, and without a parable he can hardly speak at all. In the verse which precedes these he has exhorted his readers to receive the word into an honest and good heart. *That*, at least, is the substance of his exhortation. But he gives it this lively and poetic form. The heart of man is like a foul plot of ground, over-run with weeds and thorns. The pure word of God

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cannot thrive in so foul a soil. Let them therefore clear off the ill weeds that suck the soil's fertility from wholesome growths; and then, when they have made a clear space for it, the implanted word will grow vigorously, and bring forth its fruit abundantly. So, again, in the verses before us, he exhorts them to be doers of the word, and not hearers only. But he cannot give them the maxim without adding to it a parable, in which he compares the hearer and the doer to two men who look at themselves in a glass: the one carelessly, for a moment, and without any lasting result; but the other steadfastly, continuously, and with the happiest result. And it is this somewhat rare combination of practical good sense with a vivid imagination which is his leading characteristic as a writer, that which distinguishes him among his brethren. He is a true poet, although he "lacks the accomplishment of verse." He is a true poet, but his imagination takes no lofty flight into worlds remote; it is content to light up the plain moralities of every-day life. And as there is nothing more difficult than to cast stale or familiar maxims into fresh and attractive forms, St. James must have been a man of rare and high natural gifts.

One other introductory remark seems called for. If, like the Lord Jesus, St. James speaks in parables, so also his proverbs and parables often remind us of those which fell from the lips of his Divine Kinsman. I have said, and in part shown, that the thoughts of the Apostle were largely dominated and shaped by the Sermon on the Mount. And as we read this parable on hearing and doing, it is impossible not to recall the solemn parable with which that incomparable Sermon came to a close. "Therefore," said Jesus, "whosoever *heareth* these sayings of mine, *and doeth them*, I will liken him unto a wise man, who built his house upon a rock: and the rain descended, and the floods rose, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell

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not: for it was founded on the rock. And every one that *heareth* these sayings of mine, *but doeth them not*, shall be likened unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods rose, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it." Obviously the same theme was in the mind of the Lord and in that of his "brother"; and both treat it in the same parabolic style, although the parables differ much from each other.

These verses, then, contain a parable on hearing and doing, and on hearing and *not* doing, the word of God; and no doubt the reference in the Apostle's mind was mainly to the word, full of grace and truth, which came by Jesus Christ, the word which his readers, when they went to church, were to be quick to hear and slow to speak. To illustrate their duty to the word, he describes two men, whom, in a sentence or two, he vividly sets before us. The first of these men is a hearer, merely a hearer, though a habitual hearer. He hears the Divine word with pleasure and admiration therefore, or he would not listen to it habitually. But though he listens with pleasure, he does not listen to profit. He *deceives himself*; his life, unchanged and unbettered, shows that the word has no power over him, that it takes no real hold upon him. And *he* is like a man looking at his natural face, the face he was born with, in a glass, says the Apostle. But, as he says it, the man rises so clearly before him, and becomes so real to him, that he slips into the historical tense, and goes on to speak of him as though he were a well-known personage; "for he *looked* at himself, and *has gone away*, and straightway he *forgot* what manner of man he was." The Apostle is not simply giving us an illustration; he is rather, as the past tenses indicate, telling a story of what happened to a certain man at a certain bygone hour. And yet what happened to this man happens to every one of us. There

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is no face which we find it so difficult to remember as our own.

This is the first man, the mere hearer, who is as little the wiser and better for his hearing as any man who looks at himself carelessly in a glass is for his seeing. The second man, on the other hand, is much the wiser and the better for his hearing; for he is "*a doer*" of the word. It is not only that he does the word now and then: he is *a doer*; *i.e.* doing the word is his habitual occupation. And therefore he does not forget what he hears. How can he forget it when he is always trying to do it? He can no more forget it than a certain man could forget himself who, once upon a time, "*gazed*" steadfastly into a glass, and "*continued* gazing." While his natural face was staring back at him from the glass, he could not forget what manner of man he was. And so a man who is habitually occupied in doing the word must find it impossible to forget the word he is doing.

This is the Apostle's parable, though there is far more in it than we have reached yet. But before we look a little more steadfastly into his glass, let us make sure of what we have seen in it; let us consider how instructive "doing" is, how it clears and settles the mind, how it weaves what we have heard into the very stuff and substance of our thought and life. You have heard, let me suppose, an eloquent and pathetic sermon on almsgiving, or on loving one's neighbour as oneself. You have been touched and moved by what you have heard, so moved that you resolve to commence a new habit of life. Well, you begin to give to the poor, and you soon find that it is very hard so to give as not to encourage indolence, vice, dishonesty, very hard to do a little good without doing a great deal of harm. You are brought to a stand, and compelled to reflect. But if the word you heard really laid hold upon you, if you are persuaded that it is the will of God that you should give to

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the poor and needy, you do not straightway leave off giving to them. You consider how you may give without injuring them, without encouraging either them or their neighbours in habits of laziness and dependence. Again and again you make mistakes. Again and again you have to reconsider your course, and probably to the end of your days you discover no way of giving that is quite satisfactory to you. But while you are thus doing the word, is it possible for you to forget it? It is constantly in your thoughts. You are for ever studying how you may best act on it. So far from forgetting the word, you are always learning more clearly what it means, and how it may be applied beneficially and with discretion.

Or suppose you have heard the other sermon on loving one's neighbour, and set yourself to do that word of God. In the home, we may hope, you have no great trouble in doing it, though even there it is not always easy. Your wife and children are dear to you, and you willingly deny yourself for their good. But when you go to business, and try, in that, to act on the Divine commandment, do you find no difficulty there? Your workpeople are your neighbours, and your customers, and you are to love *them* as you love yourself. You love yourself at least well enough to resent any wrong *they* may do you, any excessive demand they make on you, any unfair advantage they take of you. Do you love them so well that you never take any unfair advantage of them, never make any excessive demand on them, never take a tone to them which you would resent if you were in their place and it were taken to you? Even if you have achieved this height of virtue, you may not feel that you have fully obeyed the command of Christ. For you love yourself well enough to try and secure whatever will add to your comfort, your happiness, your honour; and you want to see how you may do as much for your neighbours, even in these respects, as you do for yourself. Now that is not

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easy. In many cases it is not easy even to *see* how the Christian law applies, much less to obey it. If, for instance, you are rich enough, or generous enough, to give your workpeople higher wages than other masters give or can afford to give, you may at once show a great love for one class of your neighbours, and a great want of love for another class. On the other hand, if, from consideration for the masters, you grind your workpeople down to the lowest point, you may show that you are wanting in true love, whether for the one class or for the other, since a true love would prompt you to set the masters a better example, and to deal more liberally with the men.

Thus, in many different ways, the very moment you honestly try to love your neighbours *all round* as you love yourself, you find yourself involved in many perplexities, through which you have carefully to pick your way. You have to consider how the Christian law bears on the complex and manifold relations of social life, how you may do the word wisely and to good effect. But can you forget the commandment while you are thus assiduously seeking both to keep it and how to keep it? It is impossible. The more steadfastly you are a doer of it, the more constantly is it in your mind, the more clearly do you know what it means and how it may be obeyed.

To hear and not to do is to forget what we have heard, and get no benefit from it; but to hear and do renders it impossible for us to forget, and even instructs us in the meaning of the word.

Now St. James compares this word to a glass into which we may either carelessly glance or steadfastly gaze. Even if we only glance into it, he implies, we shall see our spiritual face in it, see, *i.e.*, what manner of men we ought to be; but if, having carelessly glanced into it, we hastily leave it, we shall straightway forget what manner of men we are. Our wisdom is to gaze steadfastly into it, and to

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continue gazing. If we are doers of the word, we shall be often at the glass; for we shall often want to learn from it both what we are to do and how we are to do it.

But if we gaze earnestly and continuously into the Divine looking-glass, what shall we find in it? We shall find, replies the Apostle, *a law*, a *perfect* law, and a law *of liberty*: that is to say, we shall see in it, not only what we are, but what we ought to be; we shall see the ideal, the free and perfect ideal of character, to which we are to be conformed. Oh! it is a wonderful glass; for, as we gaze into it, we not only see ourselves as others see us, we also see ourselves as God sees us. It shows us our true spiritual face, the face God means us to wear. We see what we are bound to be, what we must become if we are ever to be perfect and to walk at large.

This conception of the mode in which the word of God acts on the conscience of those who look into it tallies very exactly, I think, with our experience; for one of the earliest impressions we receive from the Bible is that it speaks *with authority*, and an authority quite different from that of other books, even the greatest. As we read it, we find in it *a law*, a law of conduct by which we feel that we are bound. We may not obey it, but nevertheless we respect it, and acknowledge that we ought to obey it. We recognise the voice of God in it; for we feel that conscience, the voice of God within us, responds to its commands.

We feel, moreover, that this law is a *perfect* law, that it sets before us the true ideal of character and conduct. It is the very perfection of it, which often leads us to despair of ever obeying it. The ideal it places before us, whether in its commandments or in the lives of the men whom it approves, and, above all, in the teaching and life of the Son of man, is so high, that we hardly dare hope we shall ever attain it.

And yet, once more, we feel that, could we obey this law,

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could we embody this perfect ideal of character, we should rise into moral freedom, that we should break away from all the bonds of weakness and imperfection, and walk in liberty, because we should then keep the statutes of life.

I do not know that we could have a more exact description of the impressions produced on candid and sincere minds by the word of God than this—that it speaks with authority, laying down the law by which we admit we ought to live; that it presents us with a perfect ideal of character which we confess it would be for our highest welfare that we should reach and embody; and that it holds before us a prospect of freedom through obedience for which we sigh as for our truest and purest blessedness. All this, says St. James, we may see in the glass of the word; and all this we do find in it if we are doers of the word, and not hearers only.

If we are only hearers, we look and we forget; we catch glimpses of a law we ought to keep, an ideal at which we ought to aim, a freedom we should like to enjoy could we reach it without effort. But we go away from the glass, and forget all that we have seen in it, and all the resolves and desires it has stirred within us. Only those who habitually attempt to do and obey the word keep that law steadfastly before them, incarnate the ideal it presents, and rise into the liberty it bestows. How small a portion of our life can we give to mere learning! The bulk of our days, and of our energies, must be expended in doing, on the common duties and tasks of life; and unless we bring our religion into our daily life, how shall we keep it constantly and effectively with us? We have many ways of acquiring knowledge, but none so effectual as that of experiment. Book knowledge we all distrust as compared with that gained by practice and experience; and "bookworm" is a title of contempt, for it denotes one who does not get the benefit of the books he reads, but only a com-

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paratively useless knowledge *about* books. I could wish that there were not so many *Bibleworms* in the Church, men who know all about the Bible except its saving contents, to whom it is a word indeed, but not the word of life. If we are to taste the power of the word, "the power of God unto salvation," we must be doers of the word, and not simply hearers of it; for only thus can we be blessed in all our doing.[1]

S. Cox.

UPON PHILO'S TEXT OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

A GREAT importance attaches to the citations from the Septuagint which lie embedded in the text of Philo, because we have no other witness to the text, as it stood at the beginning of the first century, at once so copious and ancient. Yet there are reasons why we should accept their evidence with great caution: for, firstly, citations from the biblical text are often made from memory only, and are therefore made inaccurately; secondly, an author is likely to curtail and—not in a bad sense of course—garble the text he quotes according to the requirements of his theme; and, lastly, citations from the Bible were the first things to be corrupted by the zeal of copyists, eager to conform them to a received contemporary form of the text with which they were familiar. In the case of Philo, the difficulty is enhanced by our want of a really critical text. Nevertheless the critical apparatus of Dr. Holmes' great edition of the Septuagint shows how much use may and should be made of Philonean citations.

In the year 1826, about the time of the completion of Holmes' edition, there was issued from the Armenian

[1] The concluding lecture of this set has already appeared in THE EXPOSITOR (vol. v., second series); see an article entitled "The Christian Ritualism," and based on James i. 27.

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press at Venice the commentary of Philo upon Genesis and Exodus, preserved alone in Armenian. In this work, called from its method, *Quæstiones et Solutiones in Genesin et Exodum*, our author takes verse after verse *seriatim* of whole chapters of these books, cites in the *quæstio* whatever of the verse requires to be commented upon, and in the subjoined *solutio* gives that commentary. It is clear then that Philo wrote this commentary with a text of the Septuagint lying open before him, and we may therefore rely on the citations given in the successive *quæstiones* as free from the perversions of mere memory. The *quæstiones* are 636 in number, and contain substantial portions of about 500 verses of Genesis and Exodus.

The value of the Armenian version again as a witness to Philo's own text depends on its age, its fidelity, and the state of preservation in which we have it. Can we be sure, it may be asked, that, even if it be ancient, yet the translator did not render the biblical citations in the words of the Armenian Vulgate; and even if that doubt be removed, that Armenian copyists have not vitiated the text by so conforming it? For a full discussion of these points I may refer my reader to Father Aucher's Latin prefaces to his translations of the treatises on Providence and of the *Quæstiones*, of which prefaces the pertinent portions are reprinted in the Leipsic edition of Philo's works. Aucher points out that numerous citations of this Armenian version are already found in the writings of Moses of Chorene, of St. Elisæus, B. Mambreus, and of other writers of the middle of the fifth century, writers who were themselves the translators of the Scriptures into Armenian. If the Armenian Philo was already widely read in the middle of the fifth century, we may safely put back the date of the version to the beginning of that century; and having been made earlier than the Armenian Vulgate, the biblical citations in it can obviously not follow

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that version. Nor do the scribes seem to have been active in conforming them at a later date, for a comparison of them with the Armenian Bible reveals at once their entire independence. The printed Armenian text of Philo is based on a carefully written codex of the thirteenth century. There is no way of deciding how long before the year 400 had been written out the particular text of Philo which the Armenian translator used; but in any case we may be sure that so early as the year 400 the copyists had not had much time to vitiate that text by conforming it to the revised Septuagintal texts of Lucian, Hesychius, or Origen. The object of these recensions was to conform the Greek text to the Hebrew text of the third century A.D. Philo himself did not know enough Hebrew to make corrections in the text of his Septuagint; therefore more value attaches to his citations than even to those of Josephus.

In the following pages I give a literal rendering back into Greek of the Armenian text of the *Quæstiones*, a task of little difficulty on account of the fidelity of the version, of which the Armenian editor writes very truly as follows: "Hæret pede presso Græco textui; nec auctoris sui sensum exhibet tantum, sed ipsa pæne verba enumerat, ita ut haikanæ sint voces, eæque eligantissimæ, phrasis vero atque constructio omnino Græca . . . ita verba singula singulis respondere deprehendes, ut omne in id studium suum contulisse interpres apertissime patefiat." Some of the *quæstiones* hardly reflect any portion at all of the biblical text, and are therefore omitted in the following. Whenever the Armenian citation agrees with the form in which it is given in other works of Philo and in Greek, we may be sure that we have recovered the passage as it was really read in Philo's Septuagint. Where our present Greek text of Philo varies from the Armenian, the weight of the evidence is of course in favour of the latter, which represents a Greek text seven or eight centuries older than

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any we possess. Where the *quæstio* affords no good ground for suspecting that the text of Philo's Septuagint differed from the text of Tischendorf (*editio sexta*, 1880), I simply give it without comment. I also notice when a passage is cited differently in other parts of Philo of which the original Greek is left us. Where a variant from the text of Tischendorf is also found in sources brought together in Holmes' critical apparatus, I quote the latter. In many cases it is such coincidence with other sources which alone assures us that a variant implied by the Armenian really stood in Philo's Septuagint, and is not merely due to the exigences of quotation—due to title, as for the sake of brevity I phrase it. It has not seemed to me to be enough to merely notice the variations from Tischendorf's text, for the actual variations can be better judged of, and their true value more clearly discerned, if the whole evidence is put before the reader; if, that is to say, the points of agreement as well as the points of disagreement are all brought together into one conspectus. I have accordingly put back into Greek *all* the *quæstiones* which echo the text of the Septuagint, and not merely those which contain variants.

In the following pages the words "Philo in," "Philo supplies," "Philo omits," etc., mean simply that in Mangey's text of Philo as reprinted (*editio stereotypa*) at Leipsic, a passage is read in such and such a manner, and not that Philo himself so wrote it. For not only have copyists corrupted the text of Philo, but the printed editions do not give us fairly even what the MSS. contain; as witness Mangey's reading of Genesis iii. 24 in i. 138. The numerals i. 138, etc., refer to volume and page of Mangey's edition; the letters L.A., D.M.O., etc., to the Latin titles of Philo's works. Tisch. = Tischendorf's sixth edition of the Septuagint. "Holmes' notes" is a reference to Robert Holmes' critical apparatus.

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QUÆSTIONES IN GENESIN.

Qu. 1. Chap. ii. 4. Διὰ τί τὴν κοσμοποΐαν ἐννοούμενος καὶ λογιζόμενός φησιν· αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο;

So Philo in D.M.O. i. 30; but in L.A. i. 47 ἐγένοντο for ἐγένετο.

Qu. 2. Chap. ii. 5. Τί ἐστί, καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντα χόρτον πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι;

The omission after θεός of τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καί is due to title, as is also the omission of ἀγροῦ after χόρτον; for in L.A. i. 47 Philo supplies these words. But κύριος was omitted before ὁ θεός in Philo's LXX.; for the following sources also omit it (Holmes): X., 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 25, 31, 37, 61, 73, 75-79, 82, 83, 106, 108, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134; Compl. Philo i. 47, 237, *alibi*, Chrys. iv. 92; Cyr. Al. Arm. ed., etc.

Qu. 3. Chap. ii. 6. τί ἐστι, πηγὴ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον γῆς;

Omission of δέ after πηγή and of τῆς before γῆς due to title; for in other citations D.P.C. i. 249 and D.P. i. 573, Philo supplies them. In citing this verse in D.M.O. i. 31 Philo has πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, a device of citation.

Qu. 4. Chap. ii. 7 and chap. i. 27. τί ἐστι πλασθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τίνι διαφέρει ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα γενόμενος;

In citing chap. ii. 7, in D.M.O. i. 32, in Q.D.P. i. 207, Philo omits τόν before ἄνθρωπον; but the above title implies that he had it in his text.

Qu. 5. Chap. ii. 7. Διὰ τί εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμφυσῆσαι λέγεται τὴν ζωήν;

The changed order of words, and use of ζωήν for πνοὴν ζωῆς are devices of citation. Holmes does not notice that Philo in his frequent citations of this verse has sometimes πνοήν, sometimes, but less often, πνεῦμα.

Qu. 6. Chap. ii. 8. Διὰ τί ὁ θεὸς λέγεται φυτεῦσαι παράδεισον, καὶ τίνι, καὶ τί ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος;

Qu. 7. Chap. ii. 8. Διὰ τί ἐν Ἀδὶν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς φυτεύειν λέγεται τὸν παράδεισον;

Qu. 8. Chap. ii. 8. Διὰ τί ἐν τῷ παραδεισῳ τίθησι τὸν πλασθέντα ἄνθρωπον ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα;

Qu. 9. Chap. ii. 9. Διὰ τί ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, φησί, πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὅρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν;

Qu. 10. Chap. ii. 9. Τί ἐστι τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον; καὶ διὰ τί ἐν μίσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου;

Qu. 11. Chap. ii. 9. Τί ἐστι ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ;

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Qu. 12. Chap. ii. 10. Τίς ὁ ποταμὸς ὃς ἐξ Ἀδὲν ἐξεπορεύετο ἐξ οὗ ὁ παραδεισος ποτίζεται, καὶ τέσσαρες ἀφορίζονται ποταμοὶ, Φισῶν καὶ Γεὼν καὶ Τίγρις καὶ Ἐφράτης;

Here ἐξεπορεύετο seems to belong, not to title, but to text, for Holmes notes as follows: ἐκπορεύεται] ἐπορεύετο, 72, *egrediebatur*, Hier. in Is.; *prodiebat*, et *exiit*, Aug.

In L.A. i. 56 Philo cites the names as Φεισῶν and Γεών. The form *Gehon* may be due to the Version, as it is used also in the Arm. Vulg. The form Ἐφράτης probably stood in Philo's text, for it cannot be due to the Version, since the Armenian name for the river Euphrates is Aradsani, which is even used in the Arm. Comm. *ad locum* and in Qu. 13.

Qu. 13. Chap. ii. 11–14. Διὰ τί Εὐφράτην μόνον οὐ τοπογραφεῖ, τὸν δὲ Φισῶν ὅτι κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τὴν Εὐιλάτ τὸν δὲ Γεὼν ὅτι κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας, τὸν δὲ Τίγριν ὅτι πορεύεται κατέναντι τῆς Ἀσσυρίας;

In L.A. i. 56 Philo cites vers. 13, 14 more precisely, and has τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ, . . . Γεών· οὗτος κυκλοῖ, which is not really confirmed by this title; then ὁ Τίγρις οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος, which is confirmed; and, lastly, κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων.

Holmes notes that for προπορευόμενος is read πορευόμενος in 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 32, 37, and other codd., Compl., Alex. Cat. Nic., Theoph. 98, Epiph. ii. 61, Anastas. Ms. Aug., Copt., Arab. 1, 2, Arm. 1, 2, Arm. ed. And for Ἀσσυρίων is read Ἀσσυρίας in 128, Arm. 1, 2, Arm. ed. But I believe it to be a mere device of rendering in the above title.

Qu. 14. Chap. ii. 15. Διὰ τί τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἕνεκα δυοῖν τίθεται, τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ φυλάσσειν; (The rest of the title does not in any way bear on text of LXX.)

Philo cites ver. 15 twice in L.A. i. 53 and 61, and each time reads ἐποίησε for ἔπλασε and omits τῆς τρυφῆς after παραδείσῳ. It is certain therefore that τῆς τρυφῆς was not in Philo's text. Holmes notes thus: τῆς τρυφ.] omit III., X., 68, 72, 120, 129. Aldine, Philo, Theoph. 98, Anast. Ms. Orig. iii. 131. Ambr., Arab. 3, Aug. habet sub ✕ in charact. minor Alex.

Qu. 15. Chap. ii. 16, 17. Διὰ τί ὅτε ἐντέλλεται φαγεῖν ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παράδεισῳ ἐνικῶς λέγει, φαγῇ· ὅτε δὲ παραιτεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γνωρίζοντος καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, πληθυντικῶς λέγει, οὐ φάγεσθε· ᾗ γὰρ ἂν ἡμερᾷ φάγητε ἀποθανεῖσθε;

Philo cities ver. 16 in L.A. 161 and 163. In the former place he has ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ κ. π.; in latter ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου γνώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. Aucher's Latin, "ex ligno notitiam dante boni et mali," is exact. It is probable that Philo's text varied, in a way which it is difficult to fix precisely, from our own.

Qu. 16. Chap. ii. 17. Τί ἐστι, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε;

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Qu. 17. Chap. ii. 18. Διὰ τί φησίν, οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον· ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν;

Qu. 18. Chap. ii. 19. Διὰ τί πρότερον εἰπὼν, ποιήσωμεν βοηθὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ θηρία πλάττει καὶ θρέμματα;

In the commentary subjoined θηρία καὶ πετεινά is implied.

Qu. 19. Chap. ii. 19. Διὰ τί πάλιν νῦν πλάττεται θηρία καὶ πετεινά. καὶ γὰρ ἐδηλώθη ἡ γένεσις αὐτῶν πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἑξαημερίᾳ;

Qu. 20. Chap. ii. 19. Διὰ τί πάντα τὰ ζῷα ἄγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ (or ἄνθρωπον), ἵνα ὀνόματα θῇ αὐτοῖς;

Qu. 21. Chap. ii. 19. Τί ἐστιν, ἤγαγεν τὰ ζῶα πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτὰ· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδοιάζει ὁ θεός;

Qu. 22. Chap. ii. 19. Τί ἐστι, πάσῃ ὃ ἐὰν ἐκάλεσεν ψυχῇ ζώσῃ, τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτῷ;

The omission after ἐκάλεσεν of αὐτὸ Ἀδάμ must be due to title, since Philo in his citation of verse in L.A. i. 68 supplies the words. The title seems corrupt.

Qu. 23. Chap. ii. 20. Τί ἐστι, τῷ Ἀδὰμ οὐχ εὑρέθη βοηθὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ;

Qu. 24. Chap. ii. 21. Τί ἐστι, καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ὕπνωσε;

Philo supplies ὁ θεός after ἐπέβαλεν in his citation in L.A. i. 72.

Qu. 25. Chap. ii. 21, 22. Τί ἐστιν ἡ πλευρὰ ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ γηγενοῦς, καὶ διὰ τί πλευρὰν εἰς γυναῖκα πλάσσει;

The variations are obviously due to the title only.

Qu. 26. Chap. ii. 22. Διὰ τί τὴν εἰκόνα (or τὸ σχῆμα) τῆς γυναικὸς οἰκοδόμημα καλεῖ;

Qu. 27 contains no citation.

Qu. 28. Chap. ii. 23. Διὰ τί ἰδὼν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πλάσμα τῆς γυναικός ἐπιφημίζει· τοῦτο νῦν ὀστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου· αὐτὴ κληθήσεται γυνή, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήφθη;

In the citation of this verse in L. A. i. 74 καί is added before κληθήσεται, but this title proves that Philo's text agreed with Tischendorf's. Holmes also notes that Philo *l. c.* adds αὐτή after ἐλήφθη. This is not so.

Qu. 29. Chap. ii. 24. Διὰ τί φησι, ἕνεκα τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἔσονται δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν;

Here αὐτοῦ is omitted twice, after πατέρα and after γυναῖκα, and οἱ before δύο.

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In the Greek of this *quæstio* and part of *solutio* as preserved in Dam. Par. 748 (see Mangey ii. 654, Rendel Harris, *Fragments*, p. 14), *αὐτοῦ* is read both after *μητέρα* and after *γυναῖκα*, but not after *πατέρα*. But *οἱ* is omitted as in the Armenian. Philo cites the verse again in L.A. i. 75, omitting *αὐτοῦ* after both *πατέρα* and *μητέρα*, but adding it after *γυναῖκα*, and also reading *οἱ δύο*, which is also read in the echo of the passage in i. 272, *ἐγένοντοι γὰρ οἱ δύο εἰς σ. μ.*

We may infer therefore that in Philo's LXX. *δύο* was read, not *οἱ δύο*; that *αὐτοῦ* was omitted after both *πατέρα* and *μητέρα*, and probably after *γυναῖκα* as well. Cp. Mt. 19. 5 and Eph. 5. 31 with Tischendorf's note.

Qu. 30. Chap. iii. 1. *Διὰ τί οἱ δύο, ὅ τε γηγενὴς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ γυμνοὶ λέγονται εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο;*

Philo in the citation of this verse, L.A. ii. 75, adds *αὐτοῦ* after *γυνή*; so its omission may be due to the title. It should be noticed that in the above title *οἱ δύο* and not *δύο* alone is rendered in the Armenian.

Qu. 31. *Διὰ τί πάντων τῶν θηρίων φρονιμώτατον τὸν ὄφιν εἰσάγει;*

The variation of order is part of the title. Philo cites the verse twice in L.A. 76, 79 without variant.

Qu. 32. Chap. iii. 1. *Εἰ τρόπον ἀνθρώπου εἶπεν ὁ ὄφις;*

Qu. 33. Chap. iii. 1. *Διὰ τί τῇ γυναικί διαλέγεται ὁ ὄφις ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ ἀνδρί;*

Qu. 34. Chap. iii. 1 and chap. ii. 16. *Διὰ τί ψεύδεται ὁ ὄφις λέγων· εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς οὐ μὴ φάγητε ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου· ἐξ ἐναντίας γὰρ εἶπεν, ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ φαγεῖν, πλὴν ἀπὸ ἑνός.*

The variations are due to title.

Qu. 35. Chap. iii. 3. *Διὰ τί ἐντειλαμένου μὴ φαγεῖν μόνον ἀφ' ἑνὸς φυτοῦ προστίθησιν ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ ἐγγίζειν, λέγουσα εἶπεν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ μὴ ἅψησθε αὐτοῦ;*

Qu. 36. Chap. iii. 5. *Τί ἐστιν, ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοί, γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν;*

Philo nowhere else cites this verse. The variant *γινώσκειν* is not found in the Greek codd. The Arm. Vulgate has the same reading as our title, on which account I hesitate to set it down as a mere device of rendering.

Qu. 37. Chap. iii. 6. *Διὰ τί ἡ γυνὴ πρῶτον ἔλαβε τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἔφαγε ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρπου καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ λαβών;*

Qu. 38. Chap. iii. 6. *Τί ἐστι, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς μετ' αὐτῆς;*

Here *καί* is omitted after *ἔδωκε*. Holmes notes the same omission in VI., 79, 135, Arab. 4, Latini omnes. The Arm. Vulg. also omits *καί* here.

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Qu. 39. Chap. iii. 7. Τί ἐστι, διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοι τῶν δύο;

Qu. 40. Chap. iii. 7. Τί ἐστιν ἔγνωσαν ὅτι γυμνοὶ ἦσαν;

Qu. 41. Chap. iii. 7. Διὰ τί συκῆς φύλλα ῥάπτουσι καὶ περιζώματα;

Qu. 42. Chap. iii. 8. Τί ἐστὶν ἡ φωνὴ ἧς ἤκουσαν, περιπάτου θεοῦ; πότερον λόγων ἢ καὶ ποδῶν ἰαχή; πότερον δὲ περιπατεῖ ὁ θεός;

περιπάτου for περιπατοῦντος seems to be a mere device of rendering.

Qu. 43. Chap. iii. 8. Διὰ τί ὅτε κρύπτονται ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ πρώτη ἡ γυνὴ . . . φησὶ γάρ ἐκρύβησαν, (? ὅ τε) Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ;

It cannot be safely inferred that ὅ τε was absent from the Greek original of this title, the more so as in L.A. i. 87 the verse is thus given: καὶ ἐκρύβη ὅ τε Ἀδὰμ, κ.τ.λ., where the singular ἐκρύβη is noticeable. The particle τε before καί is habitually omitted by Armenian translators of the fifth century, a circumstance overlooked by the author of the Armenian collation printed in Holmes' critical apparatus.

Qu. 44. Chap. iii. 8. Διὰ τί κρύπτονται οὐκ ἄλλοθί που, ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου;

Qu. 45. Chap. iii. 9. Διὰ τί ἐρωτᾷ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὁ τὰ πάντα εἰδὼς, ποῦ εἶ; καὶ διὰ τί οὐ καὶ τὴν γυναικά;

Qu. 46. Chap. iii. 12. Διὰ τί ὁ ἄνθρωπός φησι· ἡ γυνὴ ἔδωκέν μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ἔφαγον· ἡ δὲ γυνή, ὁ ὄφις οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ ἠπάτησέ με καὶ ἔφαγον;

In L.A. i. 98 the ver. 12 is given in full as in Tisch.; ver. 13 is cited in L.A. i. 99 thus: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ γυναικί· τί τοῦτο ἐποιήσας; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησέ με, καὶ ἔφαγον. . . . Holmes *ad loc.* notes that Philo omits ἡ γυνή after εἶπεν, but the Armenian *quæstio* contradicts this inference. On the other hand, the *quæstio* makes the addition before ἠπάτησέ με of οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλά—an addition obviously due to title.

Qu. 47 does not bear on the text of the LXX.

Qu. 48. Chap. iii. 14. Διὰ τί τῷ ὄφει αὕτη ἡ κατάρα· ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσεσθαι καὶ γῆν φαγεῖν καὶ ἔχθραν ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν γυναικά;

Here σου is omitted after στήθει. Philo elsewhere cites the verse, i. 100, i. 118, i. 446, always omitting σου, as to which we may therefore believe that it did not stand in Philo's LXX. It is omitted (*vide* Holmes) in VI. 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 25, 31, 37, 38, 59, 61, 73, 74, 79, 82, 106, 107, 108, 135; Compl., Cat. Nic., Theoph. *l.c.*, Chrys. iv., 142, Severian. in Auct. PP. 286; Serapion in Cat. Nic. 92, Procop. MS.; Theodoret. 1, 1107; Arm. 2, Arm. ed. Lucif. Cal.

Qu. 49. Chap. iii. 16. Διὰ τί ἡ κατάρα τῇ γυναικί, εἰς πλῆθος

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λυπῶν καὶ στεναγμῶν καὶ ἐν λύπῃ τέκειν καὶ ἀποστροφὴ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κυριεύεσθαι;

Here λύπῃ for λύπαις has support from Theoph. 99, Andr. Cret. in Auct. PP. ed. Combefis, p. 231; Arm. 2, Arm. ed., Cyprian, and other sources, for which see Holmes *ad loc.* ἐν λύπαις however is given in Philo, L.A. i. 130: "ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα." The citations in Philo, i. 126, 131 of the rest of the passage agree with Tisch.

Qu. 50. Chap. iii. 17, 18, 19. Διὰ τί . . . ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἕνεκά σου· ἐν λύπῃ φαγῇ αὐτήν, ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι καὶ φαγῇ τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ· ἐν ἱδρῶτι τοῦ προσώπου σου φαγῇ τὸν ἄρτον σου;

Here ἕνεκά σου must be part of title only, and in L.A. i. 136 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου is given. λύπῃ however is read in L.A. i. 136, and therefore stood in Philo's LXX. Holmes' apparatus shows that the same ancient authorities read ἐν λύπῃ here who read it in ver. 16.

Qu. 51. Chap. iii. 19. Τί ἐστι, ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθης· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ γῆς μόνον ἐπλάσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος;

Qu. 52. Chap. iii. 20. Διὰ τί ὁ γηγενὴς τὴν γυναικὰ καλεῖ ζωήν· καλεῖ δὲ ὅτι μήτηρ εἶ πάντων ζώντων;

One Arm. Codex reads ἐστι for εἶ. In Philo, Q.R.D.H. i. 480, the citation runs thus: ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ ὄνομα γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ζωήν, ὅτι αὕτη μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων. We may infer that ζωήν stood in Philo's LXX. So Anastas. MS. *vitam* Hier.

Qu. 53. Chap. iii. 21. Διὰ τί ὁ θεὸς χιτῶνας δερματίνους ποεῖ τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἐνδύει αὐτούς;

We cannot safely infer that Philo read ὁ θεός and not κύριος ὁ θεός, though some sources omit κύριος.

Qu. 54. Chap. iii. 22. Τίσι φησι, Ἰδοὺ γέγονεν Ἀδὰμ ὡς εἷς ἡμῶν, τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν;

The passage is cited in same form in D.G.L. i. 430. We may conclude that γέγονεν Ἀδάμ stood in Philo's LXX. The same order is read in Holmes 79, Method. ap. Epiph. i. 547, Anastas. MS., Theodoret. i. 55. It cannot be certainly inferred that ἐξ was absent before ἡμῶν in the Greek original of this *quæstio*; it might or might not be. I have therefore followed the citation given in i. 430 and omitted it.

Qu. 55. Chap. iii. 22. Τί ἐστι, μή ποτε ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα λαβῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, φάγῃ καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδοίασμος οὐδὲ φθόνος περὶ θεόν;

Here ἐκτείνας τ. χ. λαβῇ instead of ἐκτείνῃ τ. χ. καὶ λ. may be due to title. But not so omission of αὐτοῦ after τὴν χεῖρα, for it is omitted by the same

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authorities for the most part which earlier in the verse transpose *Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν*, namely Method. *l.c.*, Epiph. i. 595, Anastas. MS.; also by Orig. i. 246, and the foll. codd. III., X., 18, 19, 55, 59, 64, 71, 108, 134, 135. It was therefore probably absent from Philo's LXX.

The omission of *καί* before *φάγῃ* is found also in Arm. Vulgate, and does not appear to be merely due to title. Perhaps the Arm. implies *ζήσῃ* rather than *ζήσεται*. *ζήσῃ* is read in Theodoret. ii. 397, Aug.

Qu. 56. Chap. iii. 53. *Διὰ τί νῦν ἐκάλεσεν τὸν παράδεισον τὴν τρυφῆς* (but one good MS. has *τῆς τρυφῆς*) *ὅτε τὸν ἀνδρὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι γῆν ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη;*

The passage is also cited more accurately in L.A. i. 63.

Qu. 57. Chap. iii. 24. *Διὰ τί ἀπέναντι τοῦ παραδείσου κατοικίζει τὰ χερουβίμ, καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν τὴν στρεφομένην φυλάσσειν τὴν ὁδον τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς;*

Here *τὰ χερουβίμ* is object of *κατοικίζει*, and *αὐτόν* is omitted, as also the words *τῆς τρυφῆς*, *καὶ ἔταξε*. In the D.C. i. 138 (Mangey's ed.) this verse is quoted as in Tisch., except for the omission of *αὐτόν*. Holmes notes that *αὐτόν* is omitted in 75. Copt., Arab. 3. Arm. 2, Arm. ed. Hieron.; that *τῆς τρυφῆς* is omitted in VI., Arm. 2. Lastly, in regard to *καὶ ἔταξε*, Holmes has the following sagacious note: "Omit Philo i. 138, in ed. ante-Mang. Forte Philo, in suo *τῶν ὁ* codice, non habuit *καὶ ἔταξε* hic, ut nec *αὐτόν* supra: atque adeo *τὰ χερουβίμ* ad *κατῴκισεν* essent referenda. Favent ipsius verba, *τὰ χερουβίμ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ παραδείσου τὴν οἴκησιν ἴσχει*. Forte *καὶ ἔταξεν* fuit alia lectio pro *καὶ κατῴκισεν*, ex marg. in textum inducta." The Arm. Philo makes it certain that the passage stood in Philo's LXX. as Holmes suggests: *κατῴκισεν ἀπέν. τοῦ παραδ. τὰ χερ.*, *κ.τ.λ.*

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

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THE NEW EDITION OF BAEDEKER'S "PALESTINE."

I.

A GUIDE-BOOK to Palestine is far more than a guide-book. Numbers buy it who never intend to use it for a tour. It ought to be the most accurate and vivid manual of sacred geography within reach of the student—such assistance as he can get nowhere else so well for determining the distances and difficulties of biblical journeys, the lines of the ancient campaigns, and generally all the perspective of the Holy Land, as well as the latest results of biblical archæology and geography. One cannot conceive of a better preparation for the teachers of Bible-classes than to have made their own way, in the spirit, through Palestine with the help of a modern guide-book and good map. Never afterwards will they feel from home in the scenes of the sacred history. Now the first edition of Baedeker's *Palestine* fulfilled this ideal, as far as was possible by a first edition and in the year of its publication, 1876. It was well up to date; its introductory material, on the history, religions, and language of Palestine, was the work of a great scholar; and the mistakes and omissions were easily pardoned to a first attempt. The third edition has been published this year, but the reputation and the hopes excited by the first have not been fulfilled. All the rich store of good things, which made Baedeker by far the best book on the subject, has, of course, been preserved; and the scholar who has visited the land for the purpose has brought the hotels and tourist arrangements down to date. But the bad omissions have not been supplied, nor all the mistakes corrected. There is not an adequate account of the progress of biblical archæology, and in the demography the statistics are meagre and vague. I shall leave Mr. Ewing, of Tiberias, to deal with the vocabulary and his own district, and shall only point out a few of the faults I found with the book in using it on a prolonged tour through Syria last summer. It was the German edition I had with me.

In a first edition of a guide-book to the Holy Land it was surprising, in a third edition it is intolerable, that Beersheba should be omitted, Beersheba and Dhoherîya, which is probably Kiriath-sepher, and all the South Country round them. No adequate account is given of the Jordan valley, none at all of the east side

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of it. Pella, for instance, is altogether omitted; of Pella, on which so much has been written lately, the tourist is not even told that it exists. Samson's country is dismissed in a paragraph, and the Wâdy-es-Sunt behind Tell-es-Safiye is also, considering its historical interest, too swiftly dismissed. The archæology is by no means up to date. Nothing, for instance, is said of Conder's identification of Tell-el-Hesy with Lachish, or Flinders Petrie's excavations there. Nothing of Clermont Ganneau's interesting discovery at Gezer. The alternative, and more probable, site for Kirjath-jearim is not mentioned. None of these are things remote from the interest of the ordinary traveller; into more abstruse questions of archæology Baedeker does not venture. Imperfect accounts are given of prominent features in the modern life of Syria, and facts that stare the tourist in the face are not mentioned, like the settlement of the Jewish Refugee Aid Society in the Wâdy Surar, and the large Jewish colonies at Ja'ûne (Dscha'une, p. 259) and on the waters of Merom.

I wish to emphasise what Mr. Ewing says on rendering the soft Arabic *g* by *dsch*, a habit in which Baedeker follows German scholars. Besides the inaccuracy which Mr. Ewing points out, it is exceedingly clumsy, especially when the letter is doubled, and quite unnecessary.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

II.

Baedeker's guide-book hitherto has easily taken the first place for Palestine and Syria. If this new edition indicates the kind of work to be done in future, it will not long occupy that honourable position. The introductory matter, which is simply reprinted, is on the whole very good. The modern vocabulary, pp. cvii–cxx, requires thorough overhauling and correction. It is difficult to understand how such a slipshod piece of work has survived to disfigure a new edition.

It is not easy to represent some of the Arabic sounds in German, but *dsch* for ج is about as bad as it can be. The letter has no sound either of *d* or of *sch*, but I have often observed Germans give it both.

Page cxi. — *Einmal* = *marra*, much oftener Khaṭra. *Du-ente* always *inte*, and so *intum*, etc. *Wir*, naḥen, also *iḥna*. *Es giebt*

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nichts should be *ma fi shei*; *mafish* = *nichts*. *Bil 'Arabe*, etc.; drop *bil* in each case. *Akul*, etc., is pronounced *okul nokul*, etc. *Ich bin gekommen*. Never jît, but *jit*, or more correctly *ji't*. ' = *hamza*. Jâ should be *ijâ*. *Biji* is often replaced by *jâi*. *Kem* always pronounced *kam*. *Genug* = bâṣ. This is stupid. Bâṣ = بَطَّ, enough = bikaffa, *kafei*. *Der beste von allen*, simply *el-aḥsan*. *Dort*, usually *hônâk*. *Wo* = *wen*, also often *fain*. *Wann* = *aimta* and *waimta*.

Page cxii.—*Kebîr* cannot always be used for *alt*. It is applied only to the age of men and animals, and even then it is often ambiguous. *Khavwân* is the plural of *Kha'in*, treacherous, or traitor. A more common word is *ṛashâsh*. *Fett* = *semîn*; of persons, *nâṣiḥ*. *Ṣaḥ* is a verb. The adjective is *ṣaḥîḥ*. *Gross* = *'azîm*. *Heiss* = *ḥar*, more frequently *shôb*. *Baṭṭâl* is used for useless. *Schlecht* = *'âṭl*. *Es ist drei Uhr*, simply *sa'â telâte*, and so the others. *Vormittag*, translate literally *ḳabl eḍ-Ḍahr*. *Sonntag*, almost always *yôm el-Ḥad*. Usbû' is little used; *jum'a*, better. *Februar* = *shbâṭ*, not *eshbâṭ*. *Mai* = *iyâr*, and also *nowâr*. Why not autumn = *kharîf*, خريف ? *Kawkab* more commonly *najm*. *Süden* = junûb; *ḳibla*, the direction of Mecca. *Frau*, the common word is *ḥorma*, and *Mann* = *zelame*. *Rijâl* is the plural of *rajal*. *Freund*, the common word is *ṣâḥib*.

Page cxiii.—*Filzkappe* is *libâde*, not *libde*. *Hose* = *sherwâl*, not *shelwâr*. *Fermelîye*, word not known in Syria *Jacke* is understood. *Strumpf* = جروب, but the usual word is *kulse*, pl. *kulsât*. *Faust* = *lakme*; *keff* = palm of hand. *Nase* = *khashm*, or *manshâr*. *Fieber* = *ḥamme*, حمّة; *sukhûne* is used indefinitely. *Khowâja* is not specially a *Frankischer Herr*, nor is it *wörtlich der angesehene*. It is from the Turkish word for *teacher*; only by a figure of speech is it *der angesehene*, and it is applied to Arabs and Europeans alike. *Syrian* = *barr esh-shâm*; *esh-shâm* = *Damascus*. *Griechisch orthodox* is simply *orthodox* in Arabic, or *er-Rûm*. *Nachkomme Mohammed's* is of course *sherîf*. *Seiyid* is a title of respect of common application. *Fleischer*, commonly *Leḥḥâm*. *Koch*, commonly *'ashe*. *Lastträger*, commonly *'attâl*.

Page cxiv.—Pl. of *mukari* is *mukarîye*. *Fûl* is pl.; sing. *fûle*. *Leimûn*, pl.; sing. *leimûne*. *Zeitûn*, pl.; sing. *zeitûne*. *Rotemelone*, commonly *Ḥarûshe*, pl. *Ḥarûsh*. *Mittagessen* = *ṛada*. *'Asha* is used only for *evening meal*. *Wein* = *inbîd* not *nebîd*. *Khême* should certainly be *Kheime*. *Fenster* = *shubâk*, pl. *shubâbîk*. *Teppich*: carpets, as we understand them, are not known in the East; *besâṭ*

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is the lighter mat, woven of hair; *sejâde* is thick, with raised surface. *Tisch*, commonly *Ṭâwila*; set for a meal, it is *sufra*. *Treppe* is *daraj*; *daraje* = *step*. *Mûristân* = lunatic asylum; *Khusta khane* is hospital, but one also hears *spitâl*. *Steigbügel* = *rekâbe*. *Pulver* = bârûd. *Milḥ* = *salt*. *Beil* = *balṭa*. *Ḳaddûm* = carpenter's *adze*. *Bohêra* is *lake*. *Holz*: *khashab* is for carpenter's work; *ḥaṭab*, for firewood. *Licht*, *ḍau* or *ḍai*; never *nûr*.

Page cxv.—Dorf: *kefr* is found only in such names as *Kefr Kenna*—never alone; *Di'a* is the commonest word. *Gasse* = *sûḳ*. *sikke* is *high-road*, or in composition = *sikket-el-Hadîd* = *railroad*. *Wald*, not *Ḥesch*, but *Hursh*. *Biene* = *naḥle*. *Blutigel* = *'alake*. *Ḳaml*, pl. of *ḳamle*. *Naḳa* is pronounced *naga*. *Ḥuṣân* should be *Ḥiṣân*; pl. *Ḥusun*. *Kharûf* should be *Karḳûn*.

Page cxvi.—Basset nâr commonly *jamra Hudûm*. The clothes for washing are usually called simply *raṣîl*. *Ja* = *ei na'am*.

Page cxvii.—Hada ma beyimshi means only, "this does not walk"; add *melîḥ* = *well*. Ṛabûn should be *ra'bôn*. This in turn is corrupted from *'arbôn*: رعبون من عربون. Nothing is used but *ra'bôn*.

Page cxviii.—Amîn = true, faithful, should be *amân*. *Ferash* is pl. of *Farshe*. *Min shani*, is one word. *Shû beddah* is rude. The merchant invariably says *Shû 'awizak*.

Page cxix.—Khud should be *Khuḏ* = جذ. Commonly, *Messîkum bil kheir*, and reply, *as'ad mesakum*, or *mesa'ul Kheir*. The reply to *kef Ḥalak* is *Allah yesallimak*, *allah yeḥfuṛak*, or *allah yesullim 'amrak*. Question and answer are numerous; only at the end is said, *El ḥamdu lillah*; *ṭaiyib* or *mabsooṭ kûnak* or *khuḏ*, is rude. *Beim Dareichen*, always *tafaḍḍal*; reply *afḍult* or *'isht*. *Kattar ullah Kheirak* would declare the well meaning *Franji*, trying to be agreeable.

Unterwegs. *Ahlan wa sahlan* is heard only as a reply, but it is said often to the guest by the master of the house on his arrival. *Marḥaba* is the most common salutation on the road, and the reply may be *marḥabatain*, *ahlan marḥaba*, or *ahlan wa sahlan*. A salutation used chiefly by Moslems is *salaam 'aleikum*; reply *'aleikum es-salaam*.

The body of the work lacks the *up-to-dateness* which characterized the old edition on its appearance. Sufficient allowance has not been made for the quickening the country has experienced

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in recent years. Very little pains should have prevented many mistakes, and corrected much that looks like carelessness.

Take our district for example. *Page* 254: Tiberias is not *eṭ Ṭabarîya*, but simply *Ṭabarîya*. *Baḥr eṭ Ṭabarîya* is a mistake for *Baheret Tabarîya*. In like manner, Tyre is not *eṣ Ṣûr*, *but Ṣûr*. The population of Tiberias is now between 5,000 and 6,000, of whom about 5,000 are Jews. There are only a few families of Orthodox Greeks, and perhaps as many Latins; the main body of Christians are Greek Catholics, *i.e.* United Greeks. *Peterskirche* adjoins the Franciscan monastery, and belongs to the Franciscans. The Greek Catholic church is a much plainer building in the south-west of town. Up till now the Greeks have no school. Tiberias is regarded in the country as *hot*, but not as specially unhealthy. It has no more than its share of fever. The town wall to the south is well preserved. The old gateway is broken down and so is open; but so for that matter is the north gateway. The mosque was repaired by a Christian governor about four years ago.

Page 255.—Variation of water level between summer and winter, five to eight feet. There are some ten boats, all belonging to Tiberias: not *all* of them *elende Fischerbarken*. The sea water is not only wholesome, but cool and pleasant to the taste during great part of the year. The water, put in porous jar and hung in draught, will speedily cool by day or night. There is no mention of *Kaṣr bint el Melek*, on the high rock, overlooking old Tiberias. There is now a *third* bath house between the two old ones, with private baths, and rooms for visitors. There is also a coffee house nearer the town.

Page 256.—"Rabbi Meir" is now a place of pilgrimage. Here as at Meirôn every year thousands of Jews from all quarters come to burn in oil precious shawls and needlework to the saint.

Kursi is pronounced *Kersa*. Whence the certainty with which *Bethsaida* of Peter, etc., is placed in *el Baṭîha*?

It is worth noting that *'ain el Bâride* may be the ancient *Dalmanutha*.

Page 257.—Tarichea is generally placed at the bottom of the lake. With this the account of Josephus well agrees. *Jebid* is pronouced *Jebil* by the natives. It stands higher up, on the lip of the valley, on *the same side* as *Kal'at ibn-Ma'an*. The map is correct.

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It is strange to speak of the *ruins* of an aqueduct serving as a path, since almost as far as it is so used, it is cut out of solid rock.

Page 258.—*Tell Hûm* has been bought by a company of German Catholics; this however only this year. *Kerâze* lies on the *right* bank of the wâdy as you go up.

Page 259.—Of *Ja'ûne* it is proper to remark that it is the most flourishing Jewish agricultural colony in northern Palestine.

Page 260.—The population of Safed seems over-estimated by some 5,000. The Christians are *Greek Catholics.* The Protestants consist simply of the missionaries and their agents.

Of *polygamy* there is very little, but the freedom of divorce is appalling. No mention is made of the view from *Jebel Kana'an*, only some threequarters of an hour distant from Safed, far wider and more interesting than that from *Jebel Jermak.*

In the part relating to the east of Jordan, care has been taken to admit but little fresh light. The old lines of travel are closely followed. If the tourist wishes to see *Zor'a*, e.g., he is left to his own resources. It is a city presenting much of interest, and claiming consideration along with *Der'at*, as possibly being the ancient *Edrei.*

W. EWING.

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